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BOOK XXII.
WITH ENGLISH NOTES
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BY A GRADUATE.

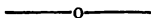
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LIFE OF TITUS LIVIUS.



TITUS LIVIUS was born at Patavium, the modern Padua, a town in Cisalpine Gaul, B.C. 59. He appears to have gone up to Rome when quite a youth, and after living there for many years he returned to his native town, where he died at the age of 76, in the fourth year of the reign of Tiberius, A.D. 17, the same year in which P. Ovidius Naso also died. His literary talents attracted the notice of Augustus, who became his patron. Strange though it may seem, this is really all we know of the personal history of so illustrious a historian as Titus Livius, although in the absence of authentic information, tradition and the partiality of the learned have attributed many sayings and doings to him of which he was doubtless entirely innocent. In the year A.D. 1360, the town of Padua was thrown into great excitement by the accidental discovery, within the monastery of St. Justina, (on the site of an ancient Temple of Jupiter,) of a tablet with this inscription, V. F. T. LIVIVS. LIVIÆ. T. F. QVARTÆ. L. HALYS. CONCORDIALIS. PATAVI. SIBI. ET. SVIS. OMNIBVS. The worthy citizens unanimously agreed that this referred to the great Titus Livius, and when in the next century an ancient skeleton was discovered in the same monastery, they fondly believed that they had the veritable remains of

their world-renowned countryman. But their delusion was roughly dispelled when it was satisfactorily established that the monument was one of Titus Livius Halys, freedman of Livia, fourth daughter of a Titus Livius. The history of Livius extended from the foundation of the city to the death of Drusus, B.C. 9, and was comprised in 142 books, of which only 35 are now extant, although there are a few fragmentary Epitomes of those that have been lost. Some have thought that the work was divided into Decades, containing ten books each, of which we now possess entire the first, third, fourth, and half the fifth. "The style of Livius is clear, animated, and eloquent: but he did not take much pains in ascertaining the truth of the events he records. His aim was to offer to his countrymen a clear and pleasing narrative, which, while it gratified their vanity, should contain no startling improbabilities nor gross perversion of facts."

EPITOME.

B.C. 217—216.

I—VII. Hannibal leaves his winter quarters in Cisalpine Gaul, crosses the Apennines, ravages Etruria, and advances as far as Lake Trasimenus, where he completely defeats the Roman army under the consul C. Flaminius. VIII—X. C. Centenius, the proprætor, sent with reinforcements to Flaminius by the other consul Cn. Servilius, is cut off by Hannibal; upon which Q. Fabius Maximus is created dictator, and M. Minucius Rufus master of the horse; Hannibal after meeting with a slight check before Spoletum, advances along the coast of the Adriatic as far as Apulia. To avert the anger of the gods a sacred spring is proclaimed at Rome, and temples vowed. XI—XVIII. Fabius, on assuming the command, advances along the Latin way, and comes in sight of the enemy at Arpi, but steadily refuses a pitched battle. Hannibal now crosses over into Samnium, and ineffectually tries to bring on an engagement: he is surrounded by the Roman army but escapes by a clever device. The policy of the commander-in-chief is violently opposed by the master of the horse. Fabius, still adhering to his cautious tactics, follows Hannibal into Apulia, but is obliged to return to Rome, leaving the master of the horse in command. XIX—XXII. Meanwhile in Spain Cn. Scipio completely defeats the Carthaginian general Hasdrubal in a naval action at the mouth of the Iberus, and is also successful on land. P. Scipio now arrives in Spain and joins his brother; by treachery they set free the Spanish hostages of Hannibal who were imprisoned in the citadel of Saguntum. XXIII—XXX. Fabius is very unpopular at Rome, and the master of the horse after gaining some slight successes sends word that he has gained a great victory: upon which a law is passed on the motion of the tribune M. Metellus for equalizing the authority of the dictator and the master of the horse: the bill is supported by C. Terentius Varro, the son of a butcher, and according to Livy a violent demagogue. Minucius brings on an engagement, is in great danger, but relieved by Fabius. Overcome with remorse the master of the horse again places himself under the orders of the dictator. XXXI—XXXVII. Meanwhile Cn. Servilius gains some slight successes on the

coast of Africa, but is obliged to retire to Sicily. The new consuls Atilius and Geminus Servilius now assume the command against Hannibal, and continue the policy of Fabius. Deputies arrive at Rome from Neapolis with offers of a large amount of treasure, but only a very small sum is accepted. Ambassadors are sent to Philip king of Macedon to demand the surrender of Demetrius of Pharos: others also are sent to Liguria and Illyria. There is now an interregnum, during which C. Terentius Varro and L. Æmilius Paullus are elected consuls. Deputies arrive from Hiero king of Syracuse, offering supplies of men and money to the Roman people: thanks are voted to him, and the reinforcements and a statue of Victory accepted. XXXVIII—LVI. The new consuls disagree, Æmilius adopting the policy of Fabius, Varro that of Minucius. Hannibal retreats to Cannæ, a town on the borders of Apulia, and is followed by the consuls. Varro rashly brings on an engagement when it is his day to command: Æmilius tries to save him, but is killed, and the whole Roman army cut to pieces, Varro escaping with only a few horsemen to Venusia. On the following day Hannibal captures the two Roman camps, but wishing to rouse the allies of Rome in the South of Italy refuses to march on the city. LVII—LXI. Two vestal virgins being convicted of unchastity, extraordinary sacrifices are made to avert the anger of the gods. A general arming being proclaimed, even the slaves are enrolled. Carthalo, a noble Carthaginian, being sent to offer terms of peace is ordered to quit the Roman territory instantly. Deputies arrive from the Roman prisoners in the hands of Hannibal to beg the senate to ransom them; but on the motion of T. Manlius Torquatus, their request is rejected: and the deputies are ordered to rejoin their fellow-prisoners. A general revolt of the Roman allies: the Senate remains immoveable and passes a vote of thanks to the consul C. Terentius Varro because he had not despaired of the republic.

T. LIVII. LIBER XXII.

—o—

I. JAM ver appetebat,¹ quum Hannibal ex hibernis movit,² et nequicquam ante conatus transcendere Apenninum intolерandis frigoribus, et cum ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Galli, quos prædæ populationumque conciverat spes, postquam pro eo, ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent³ agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse, premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis, viderunt, verterunt retro ad Hannibalem ab Romanis odia: petitusque sæpe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude, eadem levitate, quâ consenserant, consensum indicantium,⁴ servatus erat; et, mutando nunc vestem, nunc tegumenta capitis, errore⁵ etiam sese ab insidiis munierat. Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis. Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romæ Idibus Martiis⁶ magistratum iniit. Ibi quum de republica retulisset,⁷ redintegrata⁸ in C. Flaminium invidia est: Duo se consules creâsse, unum habere. quod enim illi justum imperium, quod auspiciū⁹ esse? Magistratus id a domo;

¹ *Appetebat.* Neuter: "Was coming on." Cf. *ἐπιπορεύμενος τῆς ἐκείνης ὥρας*, *Polybius*. It was the year B.C. 217.

² *Movit.* Sc. castra. Transitive.

³ *Pro eo ut ipsi....rap.* "Instead of themselves plundering."

⁴ *Eadem levitate....indicant.* "Betraying their plots with the same fickleness with which they had begun them."

⁵ *Errore.* Transitive: "By misguiding them." Cf. *Verg. Æn.* II. 48: *Aut aliquis latet error.*

⁶ *Idibus Martiis.* March 15th.

⁷ *Quum de rep. ret.* "When he had brought before the senate the state of public affairs."

⁸ *Redintegrata.* His former unpopularity with the aristocracy arose from his having proposed an agrarian law when tribune.

⁹ *Auspicium.* "Right of taking auspices," a power vested during the campaign in the commander-in-chief only. A place was set apart on the right of his tent for this purpose.

publicis privatisque penetibus, Latinis feriis¹ actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis, secum ferre: nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra concipere posse. Augebant metum prodigia, ex pluribus simul locis nunciata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigilias equiti scipionem, quem manu tenuerat, arsisse, et littora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duò sanguine sudasse, et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem² minui visum: et Præneste³ ardentes lapides cœlo cecidisse: et Arpis⁴ parmas in cœlo visas, pugnantemque cum luna solem: et Capenæ⁵ duas interdium lunas ortas: et aquas Cæretes⁶ sanguine mixtas fluxisse; fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse sparsum maculis: et Antii⁷ metentibus cruentas in corbem spicas cecidisse: et Faleriis⁸ cœlum findi velut magno hiatu visum; quâque patuerit, ingens lumen effulsisse: sortes suâ sponte attenuatas,⁹ unamque excidisse, ita scriptam: MAVORS TELUM SUUM CONCVTIT: et per idem tempus Romæ signum Martis Appiâ viâ ad simulacra luporum sudasse: et Capuæ¹⁰ speciem cœli ardentis fuisse, lunæque inter imbrem cadentis.¹¹ Inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum

¹ *Lat. feriis.* A festival of great antiquity celebrated on the Alban mount: Tarquinius Superbus took away the presidency at these games from the Latins and conferred it upon the chief magistrates of Rome. They belonged to the *feriæ conceptivæ* (cf. *concupere*, below), and hence were held yearly, but not on fixed days.

² *Solis orbem m. visum.* "The disc of the sun had been observed to suffer eclipse."

³ *Præneste.* A town in Latium, celebrated for its temple of Fortune. Modern Palestrina.

⁴ *Arpi.* A town in Apulia.

⁵ *Capena.* A town in Etruria, where were the grove and temple of Feronia.

⁶ *Aquas Cæretes.* "Waters at Cære," an ancient town in Etruria.

⁷ *Antii.* Var. lect. In Antiati (sc. agro). It was on the sea-coast of Latium.

⁸ *Falerii.* A town in Etruria not far from Mount Soracte.

⁹ *Sortes....attenuatas.* "The oracular lots or tablets became shrivelled."

¹⁰ *Capua.* The chief city of Campania.

¹¹ *Cadentis.* Al. *candentis.*

in feminam sese vertisse. His, sicut erant nunciata, expositis, auctoribusque in curiam introductis, consul de religione Patres consuluit.¹ Decretum, ut ea prodigia, partim majoribus hostiis, partim lactentibus, procurarentur; et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia pulvinaria haberetur; cetera, quum decemviri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent, quemadmodum cordi esse divis carminibus præfarentur.² Decemvirorum monitu decretum est, Jovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret; Junoni Minervæque ex argento dona darentur; et Junoni Reginæ in Aventino, Junonique Sospitæ Lanuvii,³ majoribus hostiis sacrificaretur; matronæque, pecuniâ collatâ, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Junoni Reginæ in Aventinum ferrent, lectisterniumque⁴ fieret: quin et libertinæ ut ipsæ, unde Feroniæ donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent. Hæc ubi facta, decemviri Ardeæ⁵ in foro majoribus hostiis sacrificârunt. postremo Decembri jam mense ad ædem Saturni Romæ immolatum est, lectisterniumque imperatum, (et eum lectum senatores straverunt) et convivium publicum; ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamatum, populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum jussus.

II. Dum consul placandis Romæ diis habendoque⁶ delectu dat operam, Hannibal, profectus ex hibernis, quia

¹ *De religione patr. cons.* "Consulted with the Fathers concerning the ceremonials to appease the gods."

² *Cætera quum dec. . . . præfarentur.* "As regards the other prodigies such arrangements should be made as the decemvirs, after inspecting the Sibylline books, should declare were agreeable to the divine poems."

³ *Lanuvium.* A town in Latium on the Appian Way.

⁴ *Lectisternium.* "The Greeks and Romans, on occasion of extraordinary solemnities, placed images of the gods

reclining on couches, with tables and viands before them, as if they were really partaking of the things offered in sacrifice. This ceremony was called a *lectisternium*."—*Smith's Dict. Ant.*

⁵ *Ardea.* A town in Latium not far from Rome. Cf. *Verg. Æn.* vii. 411: "Locus Ardea quondam, Dictus avis: et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen, Sed fortuna fuit."

⁶ *Habendoque.* Var. lect. *Trahendoque*, i.e. morando per delectum.

jam Flaminium consulem Arretium¹ pervenisse fama erat, quum aliud longius, ceterum commodius, ostenderetur iter, propiorem viam per paludem petit, quâ fluvi²us Arnus² per eos dies solito magis inundaverat. Hispanos et Afros, (id omne veterani erat robur exercitûs) admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire jussit; sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset; novissimos ire equites: Magnonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen,³ maxime Gallos, si tædio laboris longæque viæ (ut est mollis ad talia gens) dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem. Primi, quâ modo præirent duces, per præaltas fluvii ac profundas voragines, hausti pæne limo immergentesque se⁴ tamen signa sequebantur. Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi, neque assurgere ex voraginibus, poterant, aut corpora animis, aut animos spe, sustinebant: alii fessa ægre trahentes membra; alii, ubi semel victis tædio animis procubuissent, inter jumenta, et ipsa jacentia passim, morientes. maximeque omnium vigiliæ conficiebant,⁵ per quadriduum jam et tres noctes toleratæ. Quum, omnia obtinentibus aquis,⁶ nihil, ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora, inveniri posset, cumulatis in aquas sarcinis insuper incumbabant jumentorum itinere toto prostratorum passim acervi tantum, quod exstaret aquâ, quærentibus ad quietem parvi temporis necessarium cubile dabant. Ipse Hannibal,

¹ *Arretium*. A town in Etruria north of Lake Trasimenus, and on the borders of the Clusine marshes.

² *Quâ fluvi²us Arnus*. "Hannibal crossed the Apennines not by the ordinary road to Lucca, descending the valley of the Macra, but, as it appears, by a straighter line down the valley of the Anser or Serchio; and leaving Lucca on his right, he proceeded to struggle through the low and flooded country which lay between the right bank of the Arno and the Apennines below Florence, and of which the marsh or

lake of Fucecchio still remains a specimen."—*Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 104.

³ *Magonem inde . . . cogere agmen*. "Behind them Mago . . . to bring up the rear."

⁴ *Hausti pæni limo immerg. se*. "Almost smothered with mud, sinking at every step."

⁵ *Maximeque omnium vig. confic.* "And nothing distressed them so much as the want of sleep."

⁶ *Omnia obtin. aquis*. "The water covering the whole surface." Cf. *κατέκλυε*.



æger oculis ex vernâ primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aquâ exstaret, vectus; vigiliis tandem, et nocturno humore, palustrique cœlo gravante caput,¹ et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.²

III. Multis hominibus jumentisque fœde amissis, quum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat: certumque per præmissos exploratores habuit, exercitum Romanum circa Arretii mœnia esse. consulis deinde consilia atque animum, et situm regionum, itineraque, et copias ad commeatus expediendos, et cetera, quæ cognôsse in rem erat,³ summâ omnia cum curâ, inquirendo exsequebatur. Regio erat in primis Italîæ fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Fæsulas inter Arretiumque jacent, frumenti ac pecoris et omnium copiâ rerum opulenti. Consul ferox ab consulatu priore, et non modo legum⁴ ac Patrum majestatis, sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam ingenio ejus temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat, nec deos nec homines consulentem, ferociter omnia ac præpropere acturum. quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque irritare Pœnus parat: et, lævâ relicto hoste, Fæsulas petens, medio Etruriæ agro prædatum profectus, quantam maximam vastitatem potest, cædibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit. Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique⁵ vidit, suum id

¹ *Palustrique cœlo grav. cap.* "The marshy atmosphere disordering his head."

² *Altero oculo cap.* "Loses one of his eyes." "Hoc itinere adeo gravi morbo afficitur oculorum ut postea nunquam dextro æque bene usus sit."—*Corn. Nep. vita. Hannib.*

³ *Quæ cognôsse in rem erat.* "Which it was his business to know."

⁴ *Non modo legum.* For non modo non legum.

⁵ *Ferri agique.* From the Greek *ἄγαν καὶ φέρον*, the former referring to living spoil, such as men, cattle, &c.; the latter to inanimate things.

dedecus ratus, per mediam jam Italiam vagari Pœnum, atque, obsistente nullo, ad ipsa Romana mœnia ire oppugnanda; ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis, quam speciosa, suadentibus—collegam expectandum, ut, conjunctis exercitibus, communi animo consilioque rem gererent; interim equitatu, auxiliisque levium armorum, ab effusa prædandi licentia hostem cohibendum;—iratus se ex consilio proripuit, signumque simul itineris pugnæque proposuit. “Quin imo Arretii ante mœnia sedeamus,” inquit, “hic enim patria et penates sunt: Hannibal, emissus e manibus, perpopuletur Italiam, vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana mœnia perveniat: nec ante nos hinc moverimus, quam, sicut olim Camillum ab Vejis,¹ C. Flaminium ab Arretio Patres acciverint.” Hæc simul increpans, quum ocus signa convelli juberet, et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente corruit, consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. Territis omnibus, qui circa erant, velut fœdo omine incipiendæ rei, insuper nunciatur, signum, omni vi moliente signifero, convelli nequire. Conversus ad nuncium, “Num literas quoque,”² inquit, “ab senatu affers, quæ me rem gerere vetent? Abi, nuncia, signum effodiant, si ad convellendum manus præ metu obtorpuerint.” Incedere inde agmen³ cœpit, primoribus, super quam quod dissenserant a consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio; milite in vulgus læto ferociâ ducis, quum spem magis ipsam, quam causam spei, intueretur.

IV. Hannibal, quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasimenumque lacum, omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis

¹ *Camillum ab Vejis.* The famous siege of Veii, in Etruria, lasted ten years: the town was eventually taken by M. Furius Camillus, in the year B.C. 397.

² *Num literas quoque.* Flaminius, during his former consulship, had received his recall from the senate on the

eve of a great battle, but had refused to obey it.

³ *Incedere inde agmen.* “Flaminius pressed on his rear closely, never dreaming that the lion would turn from the pursuit of his defenceless prey, to spring on the shepherds who were dogging his steps behind.”—*Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 106.

iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum injurias acuat. Et jam pervenerant ad loca insidiis nata, ubi maxime¹ montes Cortonenses Trasimenus subit: via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id ipsum de industriâ relicto spatio: deinde paulo latior patescit campus, inde colles assurgunt. Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret. Baliares ceteramque levem armaturam post montes circumducit:² equites ad ipsas fauces saltûs, tumulis apte tegentibus, locat; ut, ubi intrâssent Romani, objecto equitatu, clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent. Flaminius quum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die, vixdum satis certâ luce, angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen cœpit,³ id tantum hostium, quod ex adverso erat, conspexit: ab tergo et super caput decipere insidiæ.⁴ Pœnus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum, omnibus dat simul invadendi. qui ubi, quâ cuique proximum fuit, decurrere, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod, orta ex lacu, nebula campo, quam montibus, densior sederat, agmina-que hostium ex pluribus vallibus⁵ ipsa inter se satis conspecta, eoque magis pariter decurrerunt. Romanus clamore prius undique orto, quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit; et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari cœptum est, quam satis instrueretur acies, aut expediri arma, stringique gladii possent.

¹ *Ubi maxime*, &c. "At the very spot where the edge of the lake comes up to the mountains of Cortona." *Maxime* = μέλιστα.

² *Circumducit*. "Marches back." "The battle of Thrasymenus must be one of the many events in ancient military history where the accounts of historians, differing either with each other or with the actual appearances of

the ground, are to us inexplicable."—*Arnold*.

³ *Pandi agmen cœpit*. "His columns began to deploy into the wider portion of the plain."

⁴ *Decipere insidiæ*. "The ambuscades were unnoticed by him." *Libri deceptæ* aut *detectæ*.

⁵ *Ex pluribus vallibus*. So MSS. The sense seems to require *ex pluribus collibus*.

V. Consul, percussis omnibus, ipse satis, ut in trepidâ re, impavidus, turbatos ordines, vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores, instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur: et, quacunque adire audirique potest, adhortatur, ac stare et pugnare jubet; nec enim inde votis aut imploratione deûm, sed vi ac virtute, evadendum esse. per medias acies ferro viam fieri:¹ et, quo timoris minus sit, eo minus ferme periculi esse. Ceterum præ strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat. tantumque aberat, ut sua signa atque ordinem et locum² nosceret miles, ut vix ad arma capienda, aptandaque pugnæ, competeret animus; opprimerenturque³ quidam, onerati magis his, quam tecti: et erat in tanta caligine major usus aurium, quam oculorum. Ad gemitus vulnerum, ictusque corporum aut armorum, et mixtos strepentium paventiumque clamores, circumferebant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes, pugnantium globo illati, hærebant: alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequicquam impetus capti, et ab lateribus montes ac lacus; a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebat, apparuitque nullam, nisi in dextrâ ferroque, salutis spem esse; tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam, et nova de integro pugna exorta est; non illa ordinata⁴ per principes⁵ hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani, post signa alia pugnaret acies; nec ut in sua legione miles, aut cohorte, aut manipulo, esset. Fors conglobat,⁶ et animus suus cuique ante aut post

¹ *Fieri*. The infin. makes it a general statement.

² *Ordinem et locum*. "His own line and his own place in that line."

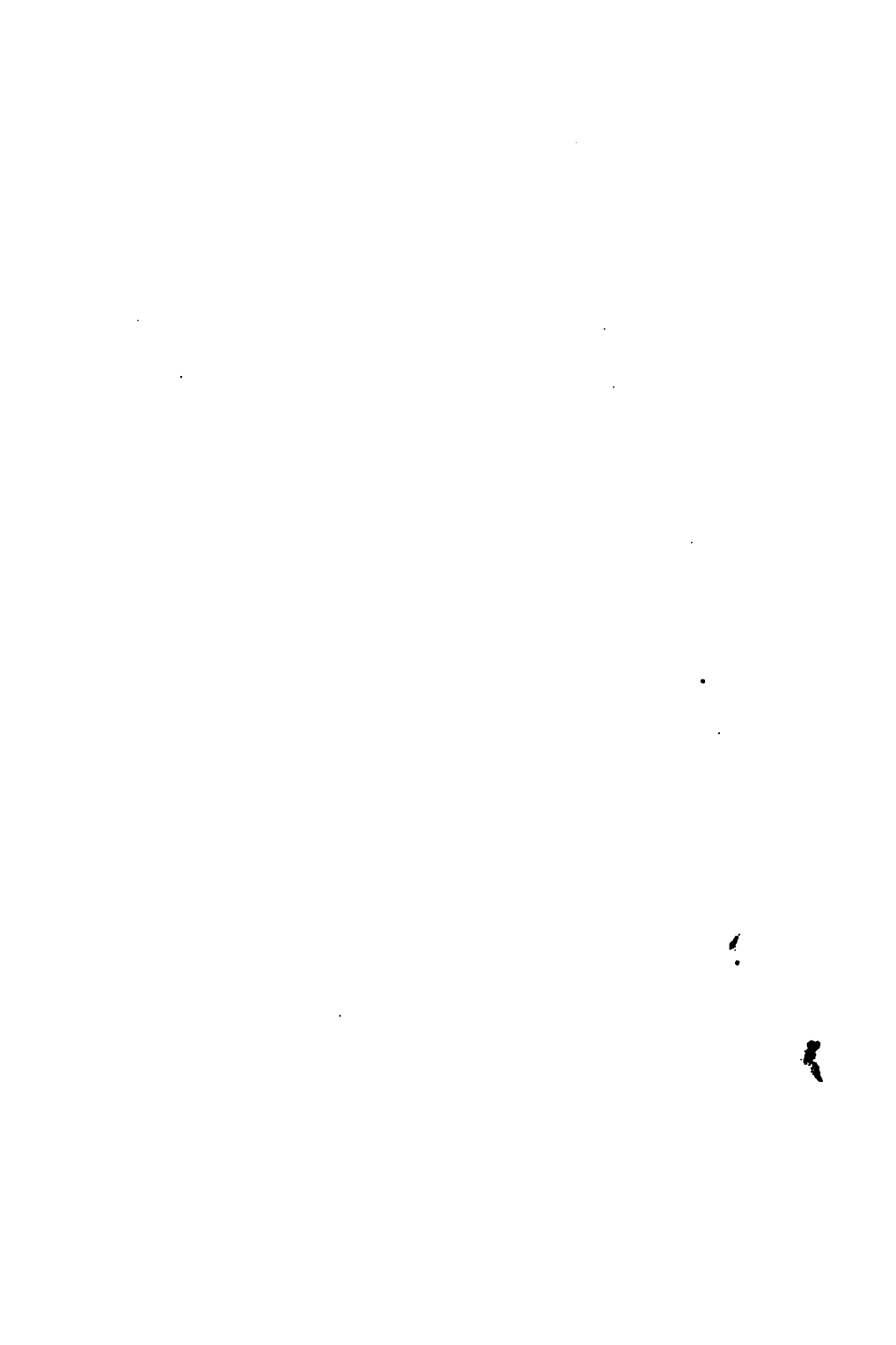
³ *Opprimerenturque*. "Suddenly surprised."

⁴ *Ordinata*. "Fought in regular lines."

⁵ *Principes*, &c. The legion consisted of three battalions, each 1,200 strong: the first were called *Hastati*,

having a long pike like the phalanx; next followed the *Principes*, composed of citizens of first rank, and were armed with swords and pila. These two battalions were called *Ante-signani*, as they were immediately followed by the standards. Behind these came the *Triarii*, or reserve, composed principally of veterans.

⁶ *Fors conglobat*. "The formation of squares was left to chance."





pugnandi ordinem dabat: tantusque fuit ardor armorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus, ut eum motum terrae, qui multarum urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit, avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

VI. Tres ferme horas pugnatum est, et ubique atrociter. circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque pugna est. Eum et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse, quacunque in parte premi ac laborare senserat suos, impigre ferebat opem; insignemque armis et hostes summâ vi petebant, et tuebantur cives: donec Insuber eques, (Ducario nomen erat) facie quoque noscitans, "Consul en," inquit,¹ "hic est," popularibus suis, "qui legiones nostras cecidit, agrosque et urbem est depopulatus. Jam ego hanc victimam manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo:" subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit; obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam objecerat, consulem lanceâ transfixit. spoliare cupientem, triarii objectis scutis arcuere. Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit: et jam nec lacus nec montes obstabant pavori. per omnia arcta praeruptaque velut caeci evadunt; armaque et viri super alium alii praecipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus humerisque exstare possunt, sese immergunt. fuere, quos inconsultus pavor nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit. Quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut, deficientibus animis, hauriebantur gurgitibus; aut, nequicquam fessi, vada retro ægerrime repetebant, atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur. Sex millia ferme primi agminis, per adversos hostes eruptione impigre factâ, ignari omnium, quae post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere. et, quum in

¹ *Consul en, inquit.* "In these words to the author of an agrarian law, than we probably rather read the unquenchable hatred of the Roman aristocracy the genuine language of the Gaul."—*Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 110.

tumulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quæ fortuna pugnae esset, neque scire, nec perspicere præ caligine, poterant. Inclinatâ denique re,¹ quum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum, liquidâ jam luce,² montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere fœde Romanam aciem. itaque, ne in conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sublati raptim signis, quam citatissimo poterant agmine, sese abripuerunt. Postero die, quum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret,³ fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese dediderunt. quæ Punicâ religione⁴ servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecit.

VII. Hæc est nobilis ad Trasimenum pugna, atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. Quindecim millia Romanorum in acie cæsa sunt; decem millia, sparsa fugâ per omnem Etruriam, diversis itineribus urbem petiere. Mille quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea utrinque ex vulneribus periire. Multiplex cædes utrinque facta traditur ab aliis. Ego, præterquam quod nihil haustum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium,⁵ æqualem temporibus hujusce belli, potissimum auctorem habui. Hannibal, captivorum qui Latini nominis⁶ essent

¹ *Inclinatâ denique re.* "When the battle was turned."

² *Liquidâ jam luce.* "In the clear sun-light."

³ *Extrema fames etiam instaret.* "The extremity of famine likewise stared them in the face."

⁴ *Punicâ religione.* "With the usual faith of a Carthaginian." This sneer of Livy may well be retorted on the Romans themselves.

⁵ *Fabium.* Q. Fabius Pictor, the celebrated Roman historian. He was one of the first writers of Latin prose. He served in the Gallic War, B.C. 225,

and was sent to consult the Delphic Oracle after the disaster of Cannæ. Cf. Liddell, *Hist. Rom.* p. 406.

⁶ *Latini nominis.* Certain colonies founded by the Romans, and consisting of Roman citizens, were for political reasons considered not as Romans but as Latins, and were therefore in a lower political condition than full citizens of Rome. But they had privileges of a peculiar kind, by which it was easy to acquire the full franchise. Hannibal tried in vain to detach them from their alliance with Rome.

sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis, corpora suorum quum sepeliri jussisset, Flaminii quoque corpus, funeris causâ¹ magnâ cum curâ inquisitum, non invenit. Romæ, ad primum nuncium cladis ejus, cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. Matronæ, vagæ per vias, quæ repens clades allata, quæve fortuna exercitûs esset, obvios percunctantur. et, quum frequentis concionis modo turba in comitium et curiam versa magistratus vocaret; tandem, haud multo ante solis occasum, M. Pomponius prætor, "Pugnâ," inquit, "magnâ victi sumus:" et, quanquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen, alius ab alio impleti rumoribus,² domos referunt, consulem cum magnâ parte copiarum cæsum: superesse paucos, aut fugâ passim per Etruriam sparsos, aut captos ab hoste. Quot casus exercitûs victi fuerant, tot in curas dispertiti eorum animi erant,³ quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant,⁴ ignorantium, quæ cujusque suorum fortuna esset: nec quisquam satis certum habet, quid aut speret, aut timeat. Postero, ac deinceps aliquot diebus, ad portas major prope mulierum, quam virorum, multitudo stetit, aut suorum aliquem, aut nuncios de his, opperiens: circumfundebanturque obviis, sciscitantes; neque avelli, utique ab notis,⁵ prius, quam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant. Inde varios vultus digredientium ab nunciis cerneret, ut cuique aut læta aut tristia nunciabantur; gratulantesque, aut consolantes, redeuntibus domos circumfusus. Feminarum præcipue et gaudia insignia erant, et luctus.

¹ *Funeris causâ.* "To give it honourable burial." We may contrast the noble conduct of Hannibal on this occasion with the treatment of his brother by the Romans after the battle of the Metaurus.

² *Impleti rumor.* "Catching up vague rumours." Metaphor from infectious disease.

³ *Quot casus.... animi erant.* "As many as were the casualties in the conquered army, with so many anxieties were their minds distracted."

⁴ *Meruerant.* Sc. *Stipendia* = to serve for pay; serve in the army.

⁵ *Utique ab notis.* "At least from their acquaintances." Utique = γοῶν.

Unam in ipsâ portâ, sospiti filio repente oblatam, in conspectu ejus exspirâsse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii falso nunciata erat, mæstam sedentem domi, ad primum conspectum redeuntis filii gaudio nimio exanimatam. Senatum prætores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curiâ retinent, consultantes, quonam duce, aut quibus copiis, resisti victoribus Pœnis posset.

VIII. Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nunciatur clades: quatuor millia equitum, cum C. Centenio proprætoress missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule, in Umbriâ, quo post pugnam ad Trasimenum auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Ejus rei fama varie homines affecit. pars, occupatis majore ægritudine animis, levem, ex comparatione priorum, ducere recentem equitum jacturam: pars non id, quod acciderat, per se æstimare;¹ sed, ut in affecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis, quam valido gravior, sentiretur, ita tum, ægræ et affectæ civitati quodcumque adversi inciderit, non rerum magnitudine, sed viribus extenuatis, quæ nihil, quod aggravaret, pati possent, æstimandum esse. Itaque ad remedium, jam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem² dicendum, civitas confugit. et, quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur; nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuncium aut literas mitti, nec dictatorem populus creare poterat: quod nunquam ante eam diem factum erat, predictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum,³ et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum. Hisque negotium ab senatu datum, ut muros turresque urbis firmarent, et præsidia disponderent

¹ *Per se æstimare.* "To estimate by its real value."

² *Dictatorem.* There had been many dictators for holding the comitia, &c. but none for actual service in the field

since the time of A. Atilius Calatinus, thirty-two years before.

³ *Q. Fabius Maximus.* This is the famous "*Cunctator*." "Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem," as Ennius has it.

quibus locis videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum : ad penates¹ pro urbe dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

IX. Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque ad Spoletum venit. inde, quum, perpopulato agro, urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magnâ cæde suorum repulsus,² conjectans ex unius coloniæ, haud nimis prospere tentatæ, viribus, quanta moles Romanæ urbis esset; in agrum Picenum³ avertit iter,⁴ non copiâ solum omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed refertum prædâ, quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapiebant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa⁵ habitata: refectusque miles, hibernis itineribus ac palustri viâ, prælioque, magis ad eventum secundo, quam levi aut facili, affectus. Ubi satis quieti datum, prædâ ac populationibus magis, quam otio aut requie, gaudentibus,⁶ profectus Prætutianum Hadrianumque agrum,⁷ Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Pelignos, devastat, circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliæ regionem.⁸ Cn. Servilius consul, levibus præliis cum Gallis actis, et uno oppido ignobili expugnato, postquam de collegæ exercitûsque cæde audivit, jam moenibus patriæ

¹ *Ad penates.* "Near their homes." Var. lect. *Ac tum pro penatibus.*

² *Magnâ cæde repulsus.* "Amidst such a scene the colonists of Spoletum deserved well of their country for shutting their gates boldly, and not yielding to the general panic; and when the Numidian horsemen reined up their horses, and turned away from its well-manned walls, the colonists with an excusable boasting, might claim the glory of having repulsed Hannibal."—*Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 113.

³ *Picenum.* This country extends along the shores of the Adriatic, south and east of Umbria.

⁴ *Avertit iter.* Hannibal's real reason seems to have been his desire to rouse the allies of Rome in the south to revolt. Besides "He would soon have entered on the territory of the thirty-

five Roman tribes, where every man whom he would have met was his enemy."—*Arnold.*

⁵ *Stativa.* "A regular entrenchment," opp. to *castra*, or temporary camp.

⁶ *Gaudentibus.* It is perhaps best to take this as ab. absol. Var. lect. *quietis.* "When they had remained sufficiently long to refresh themselves, as the troops preferred."

⁷ *Prætut. Hadr. Agr.* This territory lay immediately to the south of Picenum. Hadria was the birthplace of the Emperor Hadrian.

⁸ *Proximan. Ap. reg.* "The part of Apulia nearest to him" i. e. northernmost, called Daunia by the Greeks.—cf. *Polyb.* III. 86. καὶ πᾶσαν ἀδελφεὶ ἐληλάτει τὴν Δαυνίαν.

metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit. / Q. Fabius Maximus, dictator iterum, quo die magistratum iniit, vocato senatu, ab diis orsus, quum edocuisset Patres, plus negligentia ceremoniarum auspiciorumque, quam temeritate atque inscitia, peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse, quæque piacula iræ deum essent ipsos deos consulendos esse; pervicit, ut, quod non ferme decernitur, nisi quum tetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos¹ adire juberentur. qui, inspectis fatalibus libris, retulerunt Patribus, quod ejus belli causâ votum Marti foret,² id non rite factum, de integro atque amplius faciendum esse: et Jovi ludos magnos, et ædes Veneri Erycinæ³ ac Menti⁴ votendas esse, et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum; et ver sacrum⁵ votendum, si bellatum prospere esset, resque publica in eodem, quo ante bellum fuisset, statu permanisset. Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Æmilium prætorem, ex collegii pontificum sententiâ omnia ea ut mature fiant, curare jubet.

X. His senatûs consultis perfectis, L. Cornelius Lentulus, pontifex maximus, consulente collegio prætorum,⁶ omnium primùm populum consulendum de vere sacro censet: injussu populi voveri non posse. Rogatus in hæc verba populus, "Velitis jubeatisne hoc sic fieri: si res publica

¹ *Libros Sibyl.* These books are said to have been obtained in the reign of one of the Tarquins: they were written in Greek, and probably on palm-leaves. They seem only to have been consulted to avert the anger of the Gods.

² *Quod ejus belli. foret.* "That the vow which had been offered to Mars in consequence of the present war had not been properly offered."

³ *Veneri Eryc.* Cf. *Verg. Æn.* v. 759. "Tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes, Fundatur Veneri Idaliæ." The vow of the dictator was carried out as we see in *Liv.* xxiii. 30.

⁴ *Menti.* Cf. *Ovid. Fast.* vi. 241. "Mens quoque numen habet. Menti delubra videmus, Vota metu belli, perfide Pæne, tui. Pænerebellaras, et leto consulis omnes Attoniti Mauras pertinuere manus. Spem metus expulerat, quum Menti vota Senatus Suscipit: et melior protinus illa venit."

⁵ *Ver Sacrum.* Cf. next chapter. It began March 1st, and ended April 30th.

⁶ *Consulente collegio prætorum.* So MSS. The sense seems to require "*Consulente collegium prætorum.*"

populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut velim eam, salva servata erit hisce duellis;¹ datum donum duit² populus Romanus Quiritium, (quod duellum populo Romano cum Karthaginiensi est, quæque duella cum Gallis sunt, qui cis Alpes sunt) quod ver attulerit ex suillo, ovillo, caprino, bovillo grege, quæque profana erunt³ Jovi fieri, ex qua die senatus populusque jusserit. Qui faciet, quando volet quâque lege volet, facito: quo modo faxit probe factum esto. Si id moritur, quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto, neque scelus esto. si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto.⁴ si quis clepsit,⁵ ne populo scelus esto, neve cui cleptum erit. si atro die faxit insciens, probe factum esto. si nocte, sive luce, si servus, sive liber faxit, probe factum esto. si anteidea⁶ senatus populusque jusserit fieri ac faxit, eo populus solutus, liber esto." Ejusdem rei causâ ludi magni voti æris trecentis triginta tribus millibus, trecentis triginta tribus triente: præterea bubus Jovi trecentis, multis aliis divis bubus albis, atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis, supplicatio edicta: supplicatumque⁷ iere cum conjugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum, sed agrestium etiam, quos in aliquâ suâ fortunâ publicæ quoque contingebat cura.⁸ Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum, decemviris sacrorum curantibus. sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuere: Jovi ac Junoni unum; alterum Neptuno ac Minervæ; tertium Marti ac Veneri; quartum Apollini ac Dianæ; quintum Vulcano ac Vestæ; sextum Mercurio ac Cereri. Tum ædes votæ.⁹

¹ *Duellis*. The old form of *bellis*.

² *Duit*. Old form of *det*. Its use is confined to prayers, &c.

³ *Quæque profana erunt*. "And all those which have not been already hallowed."—Profanum (from *pro* and *fanum*) = what is before or without the temple.

⁴ *Ne fraus esto*. "Let it be no detriment or harm to him."

⁵ *Clepsit*. Perf. conj. from *clepo* (κλέπτω) = to steal.

⁶ *Anteidea*. Old form of *Antea*.

⁷ *Supplicatum*. The Supine.

⁸ *Quos in aliqua cura*. "Whose private circumstances were in some way affected by their interest in the public weal."

⁹ *Tum ædes votæ*. For these cf. end of last Chapter.

Veneri Erycinæ ædem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit; quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum erat, ut is voveret, cujus maximum imperium in civitate esset. Menti ædem T. Otacilius prætor vovit.

XI. Ita rebus divinis peractis, tum de bello reque de publicâ dictator retulit,¹ quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse Patres censerent. Decretum, ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet: scriberet præterea ex civibus sociisque, quantum equitum ac peditum videretur: cetera omnia ageret faceretque, ut e republicâ duceret.² Fabius duas se legiones adjecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. his, per magistrum equitum scriptis, Tibur³ diem ad conveniendum edixit. edictoquo proposito, ut, quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, uti in loca tuta commigrarent; ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis⁴ ejus, qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cujus rei copia esset; ipse, viâ Flaminîâ⁵ profectus obviam consuli exercituique, quum ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum⁶ prospexisset agmen, consulemque cum equitibus ad se prodeuntem, viatorem⁷ misit, qui consuli nunciaret, ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui quum dicto paruisset, congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturæ apud cives sociosque vetustate⁸ jam prope oblitos ejus imperii, fecisset; literæ ab urbe allatæ sunt, naves onerarias, commeatum ab Ostiâ⁹ in Hispaniam ad

¹ *De bello . . . retulit.* "The dictator brought before the senate the conduct of the war and the state of the commonwealth."

² *Ut e rep. duceret.* "As he should deem conducive to the common interests."

³ *Tibur.* An ancient town in Latium, about twelve miles from Rome, on the Anio. The modern Tivoli.

⁴ *Regionis.* "Line of march" or "direction;" from *rego*.

⁵ *Via Flam.* This road had been

constructed by Flaminius (who fell at Thrasimenus), when censor, four years before this time. It extended from Rome to Ariminum, in Umbria.

⁶ *Ocriculum.* In Umbria, on the left bank of the Tiber, not far from Falerii.

⁷ *Viatorem.* "A sergeant."

⁸ *Vetustate.* See note on *remedium jam diu neque desideratum*, &c., cap. VIII.

⁹ *Ostia.* The port of Rome at the mouth of the Tiber, said to have been built by Ancus Martius.

exercitum¹ portantes, a classe Punicâ circa portum Cosanum² captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci jussus, navibusque, quæ ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiæ essent, completis milite ac navalibus sociis, persequi hostium classem, ac littora Italiæ tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romæ erat: libertini³ etiam, quibus liberi essent, et ætas militaris, in verba juraverant. Ex hoc urbano exercitu, qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant, in naves impositi: alii, ut urbi præsiderent, relictii.

XII. Dictator, exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato, per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo die ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit: inde Præneste, ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus: unde, itineribus summâ cum curâ exploratis, ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunæ se commissurus. Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta, quin Poenus educeret in aciem, copiamque pugnandi faceret. sed, ubi quieta omnia apud hostes,⁴ nec castra ullo tumultu mota, videt; increpans quidem,⁵ victos tandem quoque Martios animos Romanis, debellatumque, et concessum propalam de virtute ac gloriâ esse, in castra rediit: ceterum tacitâ curâ animum incensus, quod cum duce, haudquaquam Flaminio Sempronioque simili, futura sibi res esset, ac tum demum, edocti malis, Romani parem Hannibali ducem quæsissent. et prudentiam quidem, non vim, dictatoris extemplo timuit. constantiam haud dum expertus, agitare ac tentare animum movendo crebro castra, populandoque in oculis ejus agros sociorum, cœpit. et modo

¹ *In Hisp. ad exercit.* See note at beginning of Chap. xix.

² *Portum Cosanum.* Cossa was a seaport town in Etruria, on the Via Aurelia.

³ *Libertini.* "Freedmen," as respects

their condition; *liberti*, as respects their manumitter.

⁴ *Apud hostes*, i.e. the Romans.

⁵ *Increpans quidem.* "Tauntingly remarking."



citato agmine e conspectu abibat, modo repente in aliquo flexu viæ, si excipere degressum in æquum posset,¹ occultus subsistebat. Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat, modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum, neque congregedetur.² Castris, nisi quantum usus necessario cogeret, tenebatur miles. pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant, nec passim. equitum levisque armaturæ statio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia, et infesta effusis hostium populatoribus, præbebat. neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur: et parva momenta levium certaminum, ex tuto cœptorum, finitimo receptu, assuefaciebant, territum pristinis cladibus, militem minus jam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunæ pœnitere³ suæ. Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat, quam magistrum equitum: qui nihil aliud, quam quod impar erat imperio,⁴ moræ ad rempublicam præcipitandam habebat. ferox rapidusque in consiliis, ac linguâ immodicus, primo inter paucos, dein propalam in vulgus, pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat: premendorumque superiorum arte (quæ pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit) sese extollebat.

XIII. Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit: Beneventanum depopulatur agrum:⁵ Telesiam⁶ urbem capit: irritat etiam de industriâ ducem, si forte accensum tot

¹ *Si...posset.* "To try if he could:" cf. *εἰ πως*.

² *Ut neque omitt....conged.* "So as not to lose sight of him, nor bring on an encounter."

³ *Minus....pœnitere.* "To feel less distrust in."

⁴ *Qui nihil aliud....imperio.* "Who was only checked from....because he was second in command."

⁵ *Beneventanum agrum.* Beneventum, called in ancient times Maleventum, from its unwholesome atmosphere, was situated in the heart of Samnium: it had once been a city of great importance, but was now a Latin colony.

⁶ *Telesia.* Not far from the river Vulturinus, north of Beneventum. It was the birth-place of the famous C. Pontius—the Wallace of Samnium.



indignitatibus cladibusque sociorum detrudere ad æquum certamen possit. Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis, qui ad Trasimenum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant, tres Campani equites erant, multis jam tum illecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popularium animos. hi, nunciantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuæ potiendæ copiam fore, quum res major, quam auctores, esset,¹ dubium Hannibalem, alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem, tamen, ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret, moverunt: monitos, ut etiam atque etiam promissa rebus adfirmarent, jussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire ad se, dimisit. ipse imperat duci,² ut se in agrum Casinatem³ ducat; edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupâsset, exitum Romano ad opem ferendam sociis interclusurum. Sed Punicum abhorrens os ab Latinorum nominum prolatione, pro Casino Casilinum dux ut acciperet, fecit; aversusque ab suo itinere, per Allifanum, Calatinumque, et Calenum agrum, in campum Stellatam⁴ descendit: ubi quum montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percunctatur, ubi terrarum esset?⁵ Quum is Casilini eo die mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum longe inde aliâ regione esse: virgisque cæso duce, et ad reliquorum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Maharbarem cum equitibus in agrum Falernum prædatum⁶ dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas⁷ populatio

¹ *Quum res major quam auc. esset.* "As the business was more important than his informants," or "than the people who would bring it about."

² *Duci.* "The guide."

³ *Agrum Casin.* Casinum was on the Via Latina, in Latium, not far from Aquinum. Casilinum was close to Capua, on the Volturnus.

⁴ *Stell. agr.* This was on the south

of the Falernian plain—"the glory of Campania."

⁵ *Ubi terr. esset.* "Where in the world he was."

⁶ *Prædatum.* The Supine, "To plunder."

⁷ *Aq. Sinuessanas.* Sinuessa was on the Via Appia, on the west of the Falernian plain: the modern Bagnoli. It is mentioned in Horace's journey, *Hor. Sat.* i. 5, 40.

ea pervenit. ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius, Numidæ fecerunt. Nec tamen is terror, quum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit: videlicet quia justo¹ et moderato regebantur imperio, nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

XIV. Ut vero ad Vulturnum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebaturque amœnissimus Italiæ ager, villæque passim incendiis fumabant, per juga Massici montis² Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro seditio accensa. quieverant enim per paucos dies, quia, quum celerius solito ductum agmen fuisset, festinari ad prohibendam³ populationibus Campaniam crediderant. Ut vero in extrema juga Massici montis ventum est, hostesque sub oculis erant, Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessæ tecta urentes, nec ulla erat mentio pugnae, "Spectatumne huc," inquit Minucius, "ut rem fruendam oculis, sociorum cædes et incendia venimus? nec, si nullius alterius nos, ne civium quidem horum pudet, quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt, ut ab Samnite hoste tuta hæc ora esset: quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit, sed Pœnus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis, nostrâ cunctatione⁴ et socordiâ, jam huc progressus. Tantum (pro!) degeneramus a parentibus nostris, ut, præter quam oram⁵ illi Punicas vagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nos nunc plenam hostium, Numidarumque ac Maurorum

¹ *Videlicet quia justo*, &c. Cf. *Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 3. "Not that we should by any means regard this system of government as a constitution founded upon justice, and granting to all whom it embraced within its range the benefits of equal law. Its praise is rather that it secured the Roman dominion, without adopting the extreme measures of tyranny: that its policy was admirable, its iniquity and oppression not intolerable."

² *Massici montis*. It lies on the north of the Falernian plains, and was much celebrated for its wine.

³ *Festinari ad prohib.* "Speedy measures would be taken to save C. from pillage."

⁴ *Nostrâ cunct.* "Thanks to our dilatoriness."

⁵ *Præter quam oram...eam*. "About that coast which...."



jam factam videamus? Qui modo, Saguntum¹ oppugnari indignando, non homines tantum, sed fœdera et deos, ciebamus, scandentem mœnia Romanæ coloniæ Hannibalem lenti spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, sæpius nos quam deorum invocantium opem: nos hîc pecorum modo per æstivos saltus deviasque calles exercitum ducimus, conditi nubibus silvisque. Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius² recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset, quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus affectis quæsitus, Italiam ab Hannibale recuperare parat, Gallorum Roma esset: quam vereor ne, sic cunctantibus nobis, Hannibali ac Pœnis toties servaverint majores nostri. sed vir, ac vere Romanus, quo die, dictatorem eum ex auctoritate Patrum jussuque populi dictum, Vejos allatum est, quum esset satis altum Janiculum, ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in æquum: atque illo ipso die mediâ in urbe, quâ nunc busta Gallica³ sunt, et postero die citra Gabios,⁴ cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid? post multos annos, quum ad furculas Caudinas⁵ ab Sannite hoste

¹ *Saguntum*. A town on the east coast of Spain. It was in alliance with Rome, and its capture by Hannibal in B.C. 219 was the pretext for the commencement of the present war. It is now called Murviedro (Muri-veteres).

² *M. Furius*. Rome was sacked by the Gauls B.C. 390. Brennus, their commander, agreed to quit Rome on payment of 1000 pounds weight of gold. "While the scale was yet turning (so ran the legend) Camillus, who had successfully repulsed the Gauls from Ardea, and then as dictator had taken command of the Roman army at Veii, marched into the Forum. Sternly he ordered the gold to be taken away, saying that with iron, not with gold, would he redeem the city. Then he drove the

Gauls away, and so completely destroyed their host that not a man was left to carry home the news of their calamity." *Liddell, Hist. Rom.* p. 149.

³ *Busta Gallica*. Cf. *Liv.* v. 48: "Jam pigritia singulos sepeliendi, promiscue acervatos cumulos hominum urebant, bustorumque inde Gallicorum nomine insignem locum fecere."

⁴ *Citra Gabios*. "On this side of Gabii." It was situated twelve miles from Rome on the road to Praeneste.

⁵ *Furculas Caudinas*. This was a mountain pass not far to the south of Beneventum. The Romans were defeated here by the famous C. Pontius, during the second Samnite war, B.C. 321.

sub jugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor juga Samnii perlustrando, an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque, et lacescendo victorem hostem, depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus jugum superbo Samniti imposuit? Modo C. Lutatio¹ quæ alia res, quam celeritas, victoriam dedit? quod postero die, quam hostem vidit, classem gravem commeatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque apparatu, oppressit. Stultitia est, sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse: armari copias oportet, deducendas in æquum, ut vir cum viro congrediaris. Audendo, atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his segnibus consiliis, quæ timidi cauta vocant." Hæc velut concionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia volvebantur: ac, si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant, Minucium Fabio duci prælaturos.²

XV. Fabius pariter,³ in suos haud minus quam in hostes intentus, prius⁴ ab illis invictum animum præstat. quanquam probe scit, non in castris modo suis, sed jam etiam Romæ, infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen eodem consiliorum tenore æstatis reliquum extraxit: ut Hannibal, destitutus ab spe summo opere petiti certaminis, jam hibernis locum circumspectaret; quia ea regio præsentis erat copiæ, non perpetuæ, arbusta vineæque, et consita omnia magis amœnis, quam necessariis fructibus. Hæc per exploratores relata Fabio. Quum satis sciret, per eandem

¹ *C. Lutatio.* C. Lutatius Catulus was consul B.C. 241. He took the command of the fleet, and blockaded the Carthaginians in Drepanum. He defeated a fleet sent to relieve them at the Ægæan islands, and thus put an end to the first Punic War.

² *Si militaris.... prælaturos.* "Had

the conduct of the war been a matter for vote, they were no doubt disposed to vote for preferring Minucius to Fabius as their general."

³ *Pariter.* "All the same." Nearly = *tamen*.

⁴ *Prius.* He first showed that he was not shaken by the conduct of his own men.

angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, rediturum, Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis præsiidiis;¹ quæ urbs, Vulturno flumine dirempta, Falernum ac Campanum agros dividit: ipse jugis iisdem exercitum reducit, misso exploratum² cum quadringentis equitibus sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino: quj, ex turbâ juvenum audientium sæpe ferociter concionantem magistrum equitum, progressus primò exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi vagos passim per vicos Numidas vidit, per occasionem etiam paucos occidit.³ extemplo occupatus certamine est animus, excideruntque præcepta dictatoris; qui, quantum tuto posset, progressum, prius recipere sese jusserat, quam in conspectum hostium veniret. Numidæ, alii atque alii occursantes fugientesque, ad castra prope ipsum cum fatigue equorum atque hominum pertraxere. inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus, quum prius, quam ad conjectum teli veniret, avertisset hostem, quinque millia ferme continenti cursu⁴ secutus est fugientes. Mancinus, postquam nec hostem desistere sequi, nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos, in prælium rediit, omni parte virium impar. Itaque ipse et delecti equitum, circumventi, occiduntur. ceteri effuso rursus cursu Cales⁵ primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt. Eo forte die Minucius se conjunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum præsidio saltum, qui super Tarracinam,⁶ in arctas

¹ *Modicis præsiidiis.* "With sufficiently strong guards."

² *Exploratum.* The active Supine.

³ *Per occas....occidit.* "He seized his opportunity, and even cut off some few of them."

⁴ *Continenti cursu.* "Without stopping."

⁵ *Cales.* It was on the east of the Falernian plain, and celebrated for its wine. Cf. *Juv.* i. 69: "Occurrit matrona potens, quæ molle Calenum Porrectura viro miscet sitiente rubetam."

⁶ *Tarracina.* It was called also Anxur, and was situated at the edge of the Pontine Marshes, on the coast of Latium.

coactus fauces, imminet mari, ne, immunito Appiæ limite,¹ Pœnus pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Coniunctis exercitibus, dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt, quâ Hannibal ducturus erat. duo inde millia hostes aberant.

XVI. Postero die Pœni, quod viæ inter bina castra² erat, agmine complevere. Quum Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo, haud dubie æquiore loco,³ successit tamen Pœnus cum expeditis equitibus, atque ad lacessendum hostem carptim et procursando recipiendoque sese pugnare. restitit suo loco Romana acies. lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis, quam Hannibalis, fuit voluntate. ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere. Inclusus inde videri Hannibal, viâ ad Casilinum obsessâ: quum Capua et Samnium, et tantum ab tergo divitum sociorum, Romanis commeatus subveheret;⁴ Pœnus contra inter Formiana saxa,⁵ ac Literni arenas stagnaque, perhorrida situ,⁶ hibernaturus esset. Nec Hannibalem fefellit, suis se artibus⁷ peti. itaque, quum per Casilinum evadere non posset, petendique montes, et jugum Calliculæ superandum esset; necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen aggrediretur, ludibrium oculorum,⁸ specie terribile, ad frustrandum hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus fuit.

¹ *Appia limite*. The Appian Way, called after its builder, Appius Claudius Cæcus, extended from Rome to Capua, but afterwards was continued through Beneventum to Brundisium. Cf. *Hor. Sat.* i. 5.

² *Bina castra*. Distributive adjectives of this kind are joined with nouns of only plural number.

³ *Æquiore loco*. "In a position more favourable."

⁴ *Subveheret*. "Kept up a constant supply of."

⁵ *Formiana saxa*. Formiæ was

twelve miles distant from Fundi, on the Appian Way. Cf. *Hor. Sat.* i. 5, 37: "In Mamarrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus." Cicero had a villa here.

⁶ *Stagnaque perh. situ*. "And swamps overgrown with rank vegetation." They were on the edge of the Pontine marshes.

⁷ *Suis se artibus*. As he treated the Romans at Lake Trasimenum.

⁸ *Ludibrium ocul. commentus*. — "He devised a stratagem calculated to deceive the eye." *Commentus*, perfect of *commisissor*.

Faces, undique ex agris collectæ, fascisque virgarum atque arida sarmenta¹ præligantur cornibus boum, quos, domitos indomitosque, multos inter ceteram agrestem prædam agebat. ad duo millia ferme boum effecta: Hasdrubalique negotium datum, ut primis tenebris noctis id armentum accensis cornibus ad montes ageret; maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

XVII. Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves aliquanto ante signa acti. ubi ad radices montium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur, ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montes. et metus ipse relucens flammæ ex capite, calorque, jam ad vivum² ad imaque cornuum adveniens, velut stimulos furore agebat boves. quo repente discursu, haud secus quam silvis montibusque accensis, omnia circum virgulta³ ardere: capitumque irrita quassatio, excitans flammam, hominum passim discurrentium speciem præbebat. Qui ad transitum saltûs insidentum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexerunt, circumventos se esse rati, præsidio excessere, quâ minime densæ micabant flammæ, velut tutissimum iter, petentes summa montium juga: tamen in quosdam boves, palatos ab suis gregibus, inciderunt. Et primo, quum procul cernerent, veluti flammas spirantium⁴ miraculo attoniti constiterunt; deinde, ut humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse, dum majore metu concitant

¹ *Sarmenta*. "Cuttings" from *Sarpo*, to prune. Cf. *Corn. Nep. Vita. Hannib.*: "Fabio callidissimo imperatori dedit verba: namque obducta nocte sarmenta in cornibus jumentorum deligata incendit, ejusque generis multitudinem magnam dispalatam immisit. Quo repentinus objectu viso tantum terrorem injecti exercitui Romanorum ut egredi extra vallum nemo sit ausus."

² *Jam ad vivum...adveniens*. "Soon reaching the quick and the roots of their horns."

³ *Virgulta*. "Brushwood."

⁴ *Veluti flammas spir.* "They stood aghast at the wondrous apparition of animals which seemed to breathe fire."

se in fugam, levi quoque armaturæ hostium incurrere. ceterum nox, æquato timore, neutros pugnam incipientes ad lucem tenuit.¹ Interea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum, et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis, in agro Allifano posuit castra.

XVIII. Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius. ceterum, et insidias esse ratus, et ab nocturno utique abhorrens² certamine, suos munimentis tenuit. Luce primâ sub jugo montis proelium fuit: quo, interclusam ab suis, levem armaturam facile (etenim numero aliquantum præstabant) Romani superâssent, nisi Hispanorum cohors, ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale, pervenisset. ea, assuetior montibus, et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior, ac levior quum velocitate corporum tum armorum habitu, campestrum hostem,³ gravem armis statariumque,⁴ pugnae genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi, Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani, aliquot suis amissis, in castra contenderunt. Fabius quoque movit castra: transgressusque saltum super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum, per Samnium Romam se petere simulans, Hannibal usque in Pelignos⁵ populabundus rediit. Fabius mediis inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam jugis ducebat, nec absistens, nec congregiendi.⁶ Ex Pelignis Pœnus flexit iter, retroque Apuliam repetens Geronium⁷ pervenit, urbem metu, quia

¹ *Neutros pug... tenuit.* "Kept both parties from beginning an attack till daylight."

² *Ab nocturno utique abh.* "Shrinking at any rate from a night encounter."

³ *Campestrum hostem.* "An enemy of lowlanders."

⁴ *Statarium.* "Trained for a standing fight."

⁵ *In Pelignos.* "He mounted the valley of the Volturnus towards Venetum, marched from thence into Sam-

nium, crossed the Apennines, and descended into the rich Pelignian plain by Sulmo, which yielded him an ample harvest of plunder: and thence retracing his steps into Samnium, he finally returned to the neighbourhood of his old quarters in Apulia.—*Arnold, Hist. Rom. III. 123.*

⁶ *Nec absist. nec congr.* "Neither retiring and losing sight of the enemy, nor falling in his way."

⁷ *Geronium.* This was not far from the river Tifernus. Polybius calls it

collapsa¹ ruinis pars mœnium erat, ab suis desertam. Dictator in Larinate agro castra communiit. inde sacrorum causâ Romam revocatus, non imperio modo, sed consilio etiam, ac prope precibus, agens cum magistro equitum, ut plus consilio, quam fortunæ, confidat; et se potius ducem, quam Sempronium Flaminiumque, imitetur: ne nihil actum censeret, extractâ prope ætate² per ludificationem hostis: medicos quoque plus interdum quiete, quam movendo atque agendo, proficere: haud parvam rem esse, ab toties victore hoste vinci desisse, et ab continuis cladibus respirâsse: Hæc nequicquam præmonito magistro equitum, Romam est profectus.

XIX. Principio ætatis, quâ hæc gerebantur, in Hispaniâ³ quoque terrâ marique cœptum bellum est. Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum, quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat, decem adjecit: quadraginta navium classem Himilconi tradidit; atque, ita Karthagine⁴ profectus navibus prope terram, exercitum in littore ducebat, paratus configere, quacumque parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipioni, postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem

Γερούσιον. "Hannibal's great experiment, therefore, had hitherto failed. He knew that his single army could not conquer Italy: as easily might King William's Dutch guards have conquered England."—*Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 123.

¹ *Collapsa*. Perhaps by the earthquake which occurred during the battle of Lake Trasimenus.

² *Extractâ prope æt.* "Nearly the whole of the summer has been spent."

³ *In Hispaniâ*. P. Scipio, the consul of B.C. 218, after unsuccessfully attempting to intercept Hannibal before his crossing the Alps, sent his brother, Cn. Scipio from Massilia into Spain with proconsular command. Towards the close of the year of the battle of Lake

Trasimenus he was joined by his brother P. Scipio as proconsul: the two brothers had great success at first, but in B.C. 212, the year of the fall of Syracuse, they were both defeated and killed by Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal. Yet they had rendered inestimable service by preventing Hasdrubal sending reinforcements to his brother. "Had not P. Scipio then dispatched his army to Spain....his son in all probability would never have won the battle of Zama."—*Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 82.

⁴ *Karthagine*. New Carthage, the modern Cartagena. It was founded by Hasdrubal, brother-in-law of the great Hannibal. It was taken by Scipio Africanus in B.C. 209.

consilii¹ fuit: deinde, minus terrâ, propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum, concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves² imposito, quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit. Altero ab Tarracone³ die ad stationem, decem millia passuum distantem ab ostio Iberi amnis, pervenit. inde duæ Massiliensium⁴ speculatoriæ præmissæ retulerunt, classem Punicam stare in ostio fluminis, castraque in ripâ posita. Itaque, ut improvidos incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret,⁵ sublatis ancoris, ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet, quibus, et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur. Inde primo, conspectis hostium navibus, datum signum Hasdrubali est: tumultusque prius in terrâ et castris, quam ad mare et ad naves, est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito, aut aperiens classem promontoriis: quum repente eques, alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus, vagos in littore, quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut prælium eo die exspectantes, conscendere naves propere atque arma capere jubet; classem Romanam jam haud procul portu esse. Hæc equites dimissi passim imperabant. mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat; varioque omnia tumultu strepunt, ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque, fugientium magis e terrâ, quam in pugnam euntium, modo. Vixdum omnes conscenderant, quum alii, resolutis oris, in ancoras evehuntur;⁶ alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt: rap-

¹ *Idem consilii.* *Idem* is neuter here. "Disposed to follow the same plan."

² *Delecto mil. ad naves.* "Picked men for sea-service."

³ *Tarracone.* Tarraco, the modern Tarragona, is situated on the coast of Catalonia. The river Iberus is the modern Ebro.

⁴ *Massiliensium.* From Massilia, the modern Marseilles.

⁵ *Ut....universo....opprim.* "That he might surprise them by a simultaneous and general panic."

⁶ *Resolutis oris in anc. eveh.* "Loosed their moorings and pulled out against their anchors." *Oræ* = retinacula. (*Drakenb.*)

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tūque omnia præpropere agendo, militum apparatu nautica ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur. Et jam Romanus non appropinquabat modo, sed direxerat etiam in pugnam naves. itaque non ab hoste et prælio magis, Pœni, quam suomet ipsi tumultu, turbati, tentatâ verius pugnâ quam initâ, in fugam averterunt classem. et, quum adversi amnis os lato agmine, ac tam multis simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in littus passim naves egerunt: atque alii vadis, alii sicco littore excepti, partim armati, partim inermes, ad instructam per littus aciem suorum per fugêre. Duæ tamen primo concursu captæ erant Punicæ naves, quatuor suppressæ.

XX. Romani, quanquam terra hostium erat, armatamque aciem toto prætentam in littore cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem, naves omnes, quæ non aut perfregerant proras littore illisas, aut carinas fixerant vadis, religatas puppibus in altum extraxere.¹ ad quinque et viginti naves ex quadraginta cepere. Neque id pulcherrimum ejus victoriæ fuit, sed quod unâ levi pugnâ toto ejus oræ mari potiti erant. itaque ad Honoscam² classe provecti, exscensione ab navibus in terram factâ, quum urbem vi cepissent, captamque diripuissent, Karthaginem inde petunt; atque, omnem agrum circa depopulati, postremo tecta quoque conjuncta muro portisque incenderunt. Inde, jam prædâ gravis, ad Longunticam pervenit classis: ubi vis magna sparti³ ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. quod satis in usum fuit, sublato, ceterum omne incen-

¹ *Naves omnes extraxere.* "Dragged out into deep water, after passing cables to their sterns, all those ships which had either not smashed their prows by being dashed on the shore, or had fixed their keels in the shallows."

² *Honoscam.* "Hoc nomen nullis in scriptis exstat." (*Drakenb.*)

³ *Vis magna sparti.* "A large store of broom." *Spartum* was a plant growing in Spain, from the fibres of which ropes, mats, &c., were made.

sum est. Nec continentis modo projectas oras prætervecta, sed in Ebusum¹ insulam transmissum. ubi urbe, quæ caput insulæ est, biduum nequicquam summo labore oppugnâtâ, ubi in spem irritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi, direptis aliquot incensisque vicis, majore, quam ex continenti, prædâ partâ, quum in naves se recepissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt. Inde flexa retro classis, reditumque in citeriora provinciæ;² quo omnium populorum, qui Iberum incolunt, multorum et ultimæ Hispaniæ, legati concurrerunt. Sed, qui vere ditionis imperiique Romani facti sunt, obsidibus datis, pòpuli amplius fuerunt centum viginti. Igitur, terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens, Romanus usque ad saltum Castulonensem³ est progressus. Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam⁴ ac propius Oceanum⁵ concessit.

XXI. Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum æstatis tempus, fuissetque per Pœnum⁶ hostem; sed, præterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius, Indibilisque, qui antea Ilergetum⁷ regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus, in agrum pacatum sociorum Romanorum ad populandum venerunt. Adversus eos, tribunus militum cum expeditis auxiliis, a Scipione missi, levi certamine, ut tumultuariam manum, fudere omnes: occisis quibusdam captisque, magna pars armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdru-

¹ *Ebusum*. The modern Ivica, the most westerly of the Balearic Islands.

² *In citeriora prov.* "The northernmost part of their Province."

³ *Saltum Castul.* Castulo was on the river Bætis, the modern Guadalquivir. It was situated at the north-eastern corner of the present province of Andalusia.

⁴ *Lusitania*. It corresponds to what

is now Portugal, and part of the province of Estremadura.

⁵ *Oceanum*—i. e. the Atlantic.

⁶ *Fuissetque per P.* "And it would have been so if the C— had been the only enemy."

⁷ *Ilergetum*. This tribe seems to have been located in what is now the province of Arragon. For an account of their subjugation, cf. XXI. 61.

balem cis Iberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilercaonensium,¹ castra Romana ad Novam Classem² erant, quum fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi,³ qui principes regionis suæ legatos miserant, obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuncio misso a Scipione exciti, arma capiunt, provinciamque Karthaginiensium valido exercitu invadunt: tria oppida vi expugnant. inde, cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus præliis egregie pugnantes, quindecim millia hostium occiderunt, quatuor millia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

XXII. Hoc statu rerum in Hispaniâ, P. Scipio⁴ in provinciam venit, prorogato post consulatum⁵ imperio ab senatu missus, cum triginta longis navibus,⁶ et octo millibus militum, magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul visa, cum magnâ lætitiâ civium sociorumque, portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. ibi milite exposito, profectus Scipio fratri se conjungit: ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum. Occupatis igitur Karthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello, haud cunctanter Iberum transgrediuntur: nec ullo viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniæ, custodiæ traditos ab Hannibale, fama erat modico in arce custodiri præsidio. id unum pignus, inclinatos ad Romanam societatem, omnium Hispaniæ populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus, solerti magis quam fideli con-

¹ *Ilercaon*. On the sea-coast south of the Iberus.

² *Ad Nov. Class.* "Hæ voces *Ad novam classem* accipiendæ videntur pro loci nomine." (*Drakenb.*)

³ *Celtiberi*. They occupied what is now called New Castile.

⁴ *P. Scipio*. "The Roman annalists, whom Livy has copied here, seem to

have outdone their usual exaggerations in describing the exploits of the two Scipios: and what is the truth concealed beneath this mass of fiction we are wholly unable to discover."—*Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 260.

⁵ *Post consulatum*. He came as proconsul.

⁶ *Longis nav.* "Ships of war." Μακραι νῆες.

clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliariis Hispanis, et ab iis ad Scipionem perductus, quid afferret, expromit. Fide acceptâ datâque, ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos, Saguntum redit; diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem agendam accipiendis. dimissus, quum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in præparatas suâ fraude insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti. cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus, sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat, acta per eundem ordinem, quo, si Karthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur. Major aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari, quam quanta futura Karthaginiensium fuerat. illos enim, graves superbosque in rebus secundis expertos, fortuna et timor mitigâsse videri poterat. Romanus primo adventu,¹ incognitus ante, ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat: et Abelux, vir prudens, haud frustra videbatur socios mutâsse. itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare: armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems, quæ Romanos quoque et Karthaginienses concedere in tecta coëgit, intervenisset.

XXIII. Hæc in Hispaniâ quoque secundâ æstate² Punici belli gesta, quum in Italiâ paulum intervalli cladibus Romanis solers cunctatio Fabii³ fecisset: quæ, ut Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum curâ habebat, tandem eum militiæ magistrum delegisse Romanos cernentem, qui bellum ratione, non fortunâ, gereret; ita contempta erat inter cives, armatos pariter togatosque, utique postquam, absente eo, temeritate

¹ *Primo adventu.* It was in the year B.C. 227 that the Romans first interfered in Spain. They then concluded a league with Hasdrubal, the brother-in-law of Hannibal, which fixed the Ebro as the

northern boundary of the Carthaginian Empire in Spain.

² *Secundâ æstate*—i. e. B.C. 216.

³ *Solers cunct. Fab.* "Fabius' usual policy in refusing battle."

magistri equitum, læto verius dixerim, quam prospero, eventu pugnatum fuerat. Accesserant duæ res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris : una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, quum a perfugis¹ ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo æquatis, ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hostium abstineri jussit, ut occulti alicujus pacti ea merces videri posset : altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non expectata in eo senatûs auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem verso, in permutandis captivis : quod sicut primo Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Romanum Pœnumque, ut, quæ pars plus reciperet, quam daret, argenti pondo bina et selibras² in militem præstaret. Ducentos quadraginta septem quum plures Romanus, quam Pœnus, recepisset, argentumque pro eis debitum, sæpe jactatâ in senatu re, quoniam non consulisset Patres, tardius erogaretur,³ inviolatum ab hoste agrum, misso Romam Quinto filio, vendidit, fidemque publicam impendio privato exsolvit. Hannibal pro Geronii mœnibus, cujus urbis, captæ atque incensæ ab se, in usum horreorum pauca reliquerat tecta, in stativis⁴ erat. inde frumentatum duas exercitûs partes mittebat : cum tertiâ ipse expeditâ in statione erat, simul castris præsidio, et circumspectans, necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret.

XXIV. Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat. præerat Minucius, magister equitum, profecto, sicut ante dictum⁵ est, ad urbem dictatore. Ceterum castra, quæ in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, jam in planum defer-

¹ *Quod quum a perf.* *Quod* is best translated by *for*.

² *Bina et selibras.* "Two and a half pounds for each." *Selibra*, from *semilibra*.

³ *Erogaretur.* "Was being paid down." *Lit.* = to pay money out of

the public treasury after asking the consent of the people.

⁴ *Stativis.* *Stativa* is a permanent entrenchment, *Castra* a temporary encampment.

⁵ *Sicut ante dict.* *Cap. XVIII. fin.*

untur : agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora,¹ ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos, aut in castra, relictâ cum levi præsidio, fieret. Nec Hannibalem fefellit, cum duce mutata esse belli rationem,² et ferocius, quam consultius, rem hostes gesturos. Ipse autem, (quod minime quis crederet³) quum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum, duabus in castris retentis, dimisit : dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit, duo ferme a Geronio millia, in tumultum hosti conspectum ; ut intentum sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei, atque ipsis imminens Romanorum castris, tumulus apparuit : ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur, quia haud dubie hostis breviori viâ prævenerat, nocte clam missi Numidæ ceperunt. quos tenentes locum, contemptâ paucitate, Romani postero die quum ejecissent, ipsi eo transferunt castra. Tum itaque, ut exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum totum prope compleverat Romana acies, simul et per aversa castra⁴ a castris Hannibalis equitatus, cum levi armaturâ emissus in frumentatores, late cædem fugamque hostium palatorum fecit. nec acie certare Hannibal ausus : quia tantâ paucitate vix castra, si oppugnarentur, tutari poterat. Jamque artibus Fabii, (pars exercitus aberat)⁵ jam ferme sedendo et cunctando bellum gerebat, receper-

¹ *Consilia calidiora.* "A more spirited, or bolder policy." "The master of the horse conducted his operations wisely : he advanced his camp to a projecting ridge of hills, immediately above the plain, and sending out his cavalry and light troops to cut off Hannibal's foragers, obliged the enemy to increase his covering force, and to restrict the range of his harvesting."—*Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 125.

² *Belli rationem.* "Tactics in the war."

³ *Quod minim. quis cred.* This would seem to be perfectly credible : when the enemy were at a distance he sent two-thirds of his army to forage, but now that they were in his immediate neighbourhood he sends only one-third. "Omnino hæc parenthesis parum digna Livio videtur, et aut corrupta, aut etiam penitus tollenda." (*Drakenb.*)

⁴ *Per aversa castra.* "By the gates of the Roman camp which were furthest removed from the camp of Hannibal."

⁵ *Pars exercit. aberat.* The third part which he had sent out for forage.

atque suos in priora castra, quæ pro Geronii mœnibus erant. Justâ quoque acie et collatis signis¹ dimicatum, quidam auctores sunt: primo concursu Pœnum usque ad castra fusum, inde eruptione factâ repente versum terrorem in Romanos; Num. Decimii Samnitis deinde interventu prœlium restitutum. Hunc, principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani² modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio, jussu dictatoris octo millia peditum et equites quingentos ducentem in castra, ab tergo quum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique præbuisse novi præsidii cum Q. Fabio ab Româ venientis: Hannibalem insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem recepissee suos: Romanum, insecutum, adjuvante Samnite, duo castella eo die expugnâsse: sex millia hostium cæsa, quinque admodum Romanorum.³ tamen, in tam pari prope clade, famam egregiæ victoriæ cum vanioribus literis magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

XXV. De his rebus persæpe et in senatu et in concione actum est. Quum, lætâ civitate, dictator unus nihil nec famæ, nec literis, crederet; ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis, quam adversa, timere diceret; tum M. Metilius,⁴ tribunus plebis,⁵ Id enim ferendum⁶ esse negat. Non præsentem solum dictatorem obstitissee rei bene gerendæ, sed absentem etiam gestæ obstare: et in ducendo bello sedulo

¹ *Collatis signis*. "With standards advanced to the charge."

² *Boviani*. Bovianum was in the heart of Samnium, and the chief town of the Pentrians, on the Via Numicia.

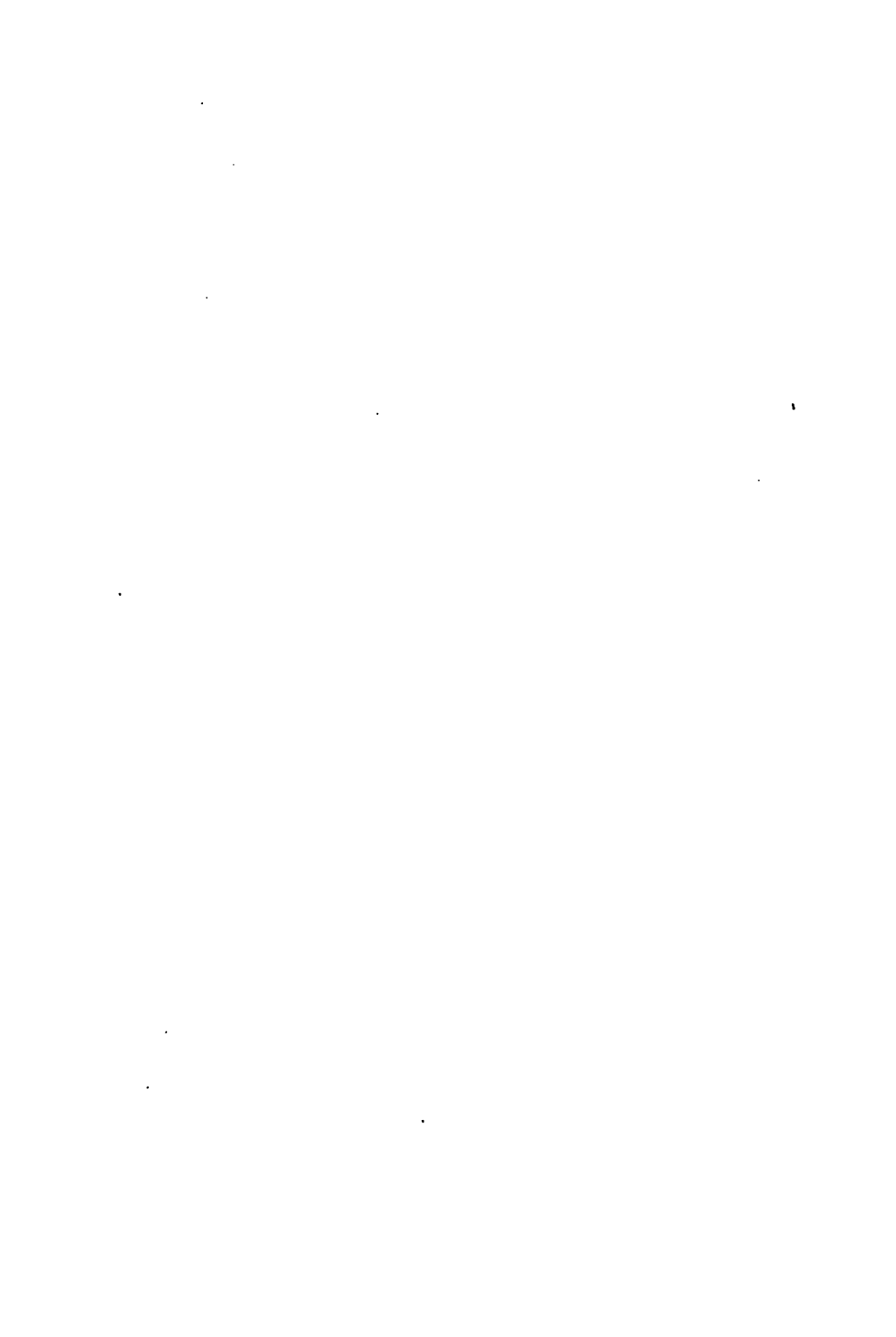
³ *Quinque admodum R.* "Full five thousand Romans."

⁴ *M. Metilius*. The Metilii seem often to have been tribunes; another is mentioned in *Liv.* v. 11.

⁵ *Tribunus plebis*. "When the plebeians, impoverished by long wars and cruelly oppressed by the patricians, at length seceded, in the year 494 B.C., to the Mons Sacer, the patricians were

obliged to grant to the plebeians the right of appointing tribunes (*tribuni plebis*), with more efficient powers to protect their own order than those which were possessed by the heads of the tribes. The purpose for which they were appointed was only to afford protection against any abuse on the part of the patrician magistrates."—*Smith's Dict. Antiq.* Their powers afterwards were very much enlarged.

⁶ *Id enim fer.* *Enim*, like the Greek γάρ, introduces the thoughts of a speaker, and need not be translated in English.





tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu¹ sit, solusque et Romæ et in exercitu imperium habeat. Quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse;² alterum, specie classis Punicæ persequendæ, procul ab Italiâ ablegatum. Duos prætores³ Siciliâ atque Sardiniâ occupatos, quorum neutra hoc tempore provincia prætore egeat. M. Minucium, magistrum equitum, ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicæ gereret, prope in custodiam habitum. Itaque Hercule, non Samuium modo, quo jam, tanquam trans Iberum⁴ agro, Pœnis concessum sit, et Campanum Calenumque et Falernum agros pervastatos esse, sedente Casilini dictatore, et legionibus populi Romani agrum suum tutante: exercitum, cupientem pugnare, et magistrum equitum, clausos prope intra vallum retentos; tanquam hostibus captivis, arma adempta. tandem ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione liberatos, extra vallum egressos, fudisse ac fugâsse hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebi Romanæ esset, audaciter se laturum⁵ fuisse de abrogando Q. Fabii imperio: nunc modicam rogationem promulgaturum de æquando magistri equitum et dictatoris jure: nec tamen, ne ita quidem, prius mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium, quam consulem in locum C. Flamini suffecisset. Dictator concionibus se abstinuit, in actione minime populari ne in senatu quidem satis æquis auribus

¹ *Diutius in magis.* The period of office was only six months.

² *Alterum in acie....alterum.* Flaminius had been killed at the battle of Lake Trasimenus, and Cn. Servilius despatched to protect the shores of Italy (Cap. XI.)

³ *Duos præt.* T. Otacilius Crassus in Sicily, and A. Cornelius Mammula in Sardinia. When the plebeians obtained a share in the Consulate, the judicial functions attached to that office were transferred to a special magistrate called a Prætor, or Prætor Urbanus: a second

was added when Sicily became subject to Rome, and was called Prætor Peregrinus: two more were created for the government of the two first provinces, Sicily and Sardinia.

⁴ *Tanquam trans Ib.* The Romans had made a treaty with Hasdrubal, the brother-in-law of Hannibal, which fixed the Iberus as the northern limit of Carthaginian rule in Spain.

⁵ *Laturum.* The Future in *rus*, from *fero*. The full expression for bringing forward a bill was *Legem ad populum ferre*.

audiebatur tunc, quum hostem verbis extolleret, biennique clades per temeritatem atque inscientiam ducum acceptas referret;¹ magistroque equitum, quod contra dictum suum pugnâset, rationem diceret reddendam esse. Si penes se summa imperii consiliique sit, propediem effecturum, ut sciant homines, bono imperatori haud magni fortunam momenti esse; mentem rationemque dominari. Se in tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum, quam multa millia hostium occidisse, majorem gloriam esse. Hujus generis orationibus frustra habitis, et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo,² ne præsens de jure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendæ dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit. Luce ortâ, quum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris, favorque magistri equitum animos versabat, quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum, quod vulgo placebat, prodire; et, favore superante, auctoritas tamen rogationi deerat. Unus inventus est suasor legis, C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno prætor fuerat, loco non humili solum, sed etiam sordido, ortus. patrem lanium³ fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem⁴ mercis; filioque hoc ipso in servilia ejus artis ministeria usum.

XXVI. Is juvenis, ubi ex eo genere quæstus pecunia a patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunæ fecit, togaque et forum placuere, proclamando pro sordidis hominibus

¹ *Acceptas ref.* "To put down to the account of." The other side of the account would be expressed by *Expensas referre alicui*.

² *M. Atilio Regulo*. Probably the son of the famous M. Atilius Regulus of the first Punic War.

³ *Lanium*. "Varro, his enemies said, was a butcher's son: nay, it was added that he had himself been a butcher's boy, and had only been enabled by the fortune which his father had left him to throw aside his ignoble calling, and to aspire

to public offices. So Cromwell was called a brewer: but Varro had been successively elected quæstor, plebeian and curule ædile, and prætor, while we are not told that he was ever tribune: and it is without example in Roman history that a mere demagogue, of no family, with no other merits, civil or military, should be raised to such nobility." *Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 129.

⁴ *Institorem*. "A hawker." Cf. *Juv.* VII. 221. "Institor hibernæ tegetis niveique cadurci."

causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum, primum in notitiam populi, deinde ad honores,¹ pervenit. quæsturâ quoque et duabus ædilitatibus,² plebeîâ et curuli, postremo et præturâ perfunctus, jam ad consulatûs spem quum attolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoriâ invidiâ petiit, scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit. Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romæ quique in exercitu erant, æqui atque iniqui, præter ipsum dictatorem, in contumeliam ejus latam acceperunt. ipse, quâ gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat, eâdem et populi in se sævientis injuriam tulit: acceptisque in ipso itinere literis senatûs³ consulti de æquato imperio, satis fidens, haudquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam, cumque invicto a civibus hostibusque animo, ad exercitum rediit.

XXVII. Minucius vero, quum jam ante vix tolerabilis fuisset secundis rebus ac favore vulgi, tum utique⁴ immodice immodesteque, non Hannibale magis victo ab se quam Q. Fabio, gloriari: Illum, in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quæsitum Hannibali, majorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum,⁵ quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, jussu populi æquatum in eâdem civitate, in quâ magistri

¹ *Honores*. "Government posts, curule offices."

² *Duabus ædilit.* The ædiles (so called, it is said, from having the charge of the temple (*ædes*) of Ceres.) were originally two in number, and were elected from the plebes. They appear to have performed duties similar to our commissioners of works, and police. The curule ædiles were originally chosen from the patricians; afterwards indifferently from both orders.

³ *Literis senat.* By the Horatian and Hortensian laws *plebiscita* were binding upon the whole people, but the senate, to elude the authority of the

plebes, used to confirm *plebiscita* by *senatus-consulta*.

⁴ *Utique*. "More than ever."

⁵ *Magistro equit.* "The functions of this officer in the state are involved in obscurity: that he was not merely the commander of the horse, and the dictator's lieutenant in the field, is certain. I conjecture that he was chosen by the centuries of the plebeian knights, and that he was their protector: the dictator may have presided at the election, and have taken the votes of the twelve centuries on the person whom he proposed to them. This might afterwards have fallen into disuse, and he would then name his colleague himself."—*Niebuhr*, quoted in *Smith's Dict. Antiq.*

equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere¹ soliti sint: in tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque enituisse. Ergo secuturum se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione, ac segnitie, deorum hominumque iudicio damnatâ, perstarét. Itaque, quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse, quemadmodum imperio æquato utantur. Se optimum ducere, aut diebus alternis, aut, si maiora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus, alterius summum jus imperiumque esse; ut par hosti non solum consilio, sed viribus etiam, esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendæ habuisset. Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia enim fortunam habituram, quæcunque temeritas collegæ habuisset. Sibi communicatum cum illo, non ademptum, imperium esse. Itaque se nunquam volentem parte, quâ posset, rerum consilio gerendarum cessurum: nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exercitus divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret, quæ posset, servaturum. Ita obtinuit, uti legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se dividerent. prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt. Item equites pari numero, sociûmque et Latini nominis auxilia, divisērunt: castris se quoque separari magister equitum voluit.

XXVIII. Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit: neque enim quicquam eorum, quæ apud hostes agerentur, eum fallebat, et perfugis multa indicantibus, et per suos explorantem, nam et liberam Minucii temeritatem se suo modo² captaturum, et solertiæ Fabii dimidium virium decessisse. Tumulus erat inter castra Minucii Pœnorumque. eum qui occupâsset, haud dubie iniquiorem erat hosti locum factururus.

¹ *Tremere atque horrere.* Cf. *Liv.* VIII. 32, for the account of the dispute between L. Papirius Cursor and his

master of the horse, Q. Fabius, during the second Samnite war.

² *Suo modo.* "In whatever way he wished."





eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, (quanquam id operæ pretium erat) quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem semper occurrurum ad obsistendum satis sciebat, contrahere. Ager omnis medius erat primâ specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quicquam, sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat; re ipsâ natus tegendis insidiis, eo magis quod in nudâ valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat. et erant in amfractibus cavæ rupes, ut quædam earum ducenos armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque millia conduntur peditum equitumque.¹ necubi tamen aut motus alicujus temere egressi, aut fulgor armorum, fraudem in valle tam apertâ detegeret, missis paucis primâ luce ad capiendum, quem ante diximus, tumultum, avertit oculos hostium. Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas: ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostes. ad locum capiendum dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat; et vanis animis et minis increpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam dimittit; deinde conferto agmine² mittit equites: postremo, quum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et Hannibal, laborantibus suis alia atque alia, crescente certamine, mittens auxilia peditum equitumque, jam justam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrinque viribus certabatur. Prima levis armatura Romanorum, præoccupatum inferiore loco, succedens tumultum, pulsa detrusaque, terrorem in succedentem³ intulit equitem, et ad signa legionum refugit. peditum acies inter percussos impavida sola erat, videbaturque, si justa aut si

¹ *Quinque millia .. ped. equit.* Polybius, more exact, has Πεντακοσίους μὲν ἱππεῖς ψιλὸς καὶ πεζοὺς τοὺς πάντας εἰς πεντακισχιλίους.

² *Dimittit .. conferto agmine.* "He

despatches in open order, or in detached parties, afterwards in close column formation."

³ *Succedentem.* "Advancing up the hill."

recta pugna¹ esset, haudquaquam impar futura: tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante paucos dies res gesta. Sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque, in latera utrinque ab tergoque incursantes, fecerunt, ut neque animus ad pugnam, neque ad fugam spes, cuiquam superesset.

XXIX. Tunc Fabius, primò clamore paventium audito, dein conspectâ procul turbatâ acie, "Ita est,"² inquit, "non celerius quam timui deprehendit fortuna temeritatem. Fabio æquatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortunâ superiorem videt. Sed aliud jurgandi succensendique tempus erit. nunc signa extra vallum proferte. Victoriâ hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus." Jam magnâ ex parte³ cæsis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam, Fabiana se acies repente velut cœlo demissa, ad auxilium ostendit: itaque, priusquam ad conjectum teli veniret, aut manum consereret, et suos a fugâ effusâ, et ab nimis feroci pugna hostes, continuit. qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant, undique confugerunt ad integram aciem: qui plures simul terga dederant, conversi in hostem, volventesque orbem,⁴ nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare. ac jam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitûs, inferebantque signa in hostem; quam Pœnus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale, ab se Minucium, se a Fabio victum. Ita per variam fortunam diei majore parte exactâ, quum in castra reditum esset, Minucius, convocatis militibus, "Sæpe ego," inquit, "audivi,⁵ milites, eum primum esse

¹ *Recta pugna.* "Quum frontibus adversis inter se pugnant, non per insidias quæ in terga incurrant aut latera." *Drakenb.*

² *Ita est.* "It is as I expected."

³ *Jam magnâ ex parte.* "By this time over a great portion of the field."

⁴ *Volventesque orbem.* Usually said

of those who form squares to resist a charge of the enemy; but here of those who form a compact body for making an attack. For the former usage cf. *Liv.* II. 50, "Cogebantur....et ipsi orbem colligere."

⁵ *Audivi.* From *Hesiod, Op. et Dies.* 291. Οὗτος μὲν πάνριστος, δε αὐτὸς

virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit;¹ secundum eum qui bene monenti obediat: qui nec ipse consulere, nec alteri parere, sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingenique negata sors est, secundam ac mediam teneamus: et, dum imperare discimus, parere prudenti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio jungamus: ad prætorium ejus signa quum tulerimus, ubi ego eum PARENTEM appellavero, quod beneficio ejus erga nos ac majestate ejus dignum est; vos, milites, eos, quorum vos modo arma dextræque texerunt, PATRONOS² salutabitis, et, si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hæc dederit."

XXX. Signo dato, conclamatur inde, ut colligantur vasa:³ profecti et agmine incedentes ad dictatoris castra, in admirationem et ipsum, et omnes qui circa erant, converterunt. Ut constituta⁴ sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios, magister equitum quum *patrem* Fabium appellasset, circumfususque militum ejus totum agmen *patronos* consalutasset, "Parentibus," inquit, "meis, dictator, (quibus te modo nomine, quo fando possum, æquavi) vitam tantum debeo; tibi quum meam salutem, tum omnium horum. Itaque plebeiscitum, quo oneratus magis, quam honoratus, sum, primus antiquo abrogoque: et, quod tibi mihi, quod exercitibusque his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque⁵ tuum redeo, et signa

πάντα νόση, Ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κακείνος, θε εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται. "Οὐ δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νόση μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων. Ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὃ δ' αὐτ' ἀχρηστὸς ἀνὴρ. Cicero likewise refers to it in his speech for Cluentius.

¹ *Quid in rem sit.* "What is advantageous."

² *Patronos.* "The act of manumission created a new relation between the manumissor and the slave, which

was analogous to that between father and son. The manumissor became, with respect to the manumitted person, his *Patronus*, and the manumitted person became the *Libertus* of the manumissor." *Smith's Dict. Antiq.*

³ *Vasa.* "Baggage."

⁴ *Constituta.* "Put in their right place."

⁵ *Auspiciumque.* Cf. note on *auspicium*, cap. I.

hæc legionesque restituo. Tu, quæso, placatus, me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos¹ quemque, tenere jubeas." Tum dextræ interjunctæ, militesque, concione dimissâ, a notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invitati: lætusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante, ac prope exsecrabili, factus. Romæ, ut est perlata fama rei gestæ, dein literis non magis ipsorum imperatorum, quam vulgo militum ex utroque exercitu, affirmata, pro se quisque Maximum laudibus ad cælum ferre. Par gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Pœnos erat: ac tum demum sentire, cum Romanis atque in Italiâ bellum esse. Nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant, ut vix cum eâdem gente bellum esse crederent, cujus terribilem eam famam a patribus accepissent. Hannibalem quoque, ex acie redeuntem, dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quæ sedere² in jugis montium solita sit, cum procellâ imbrem dedisse.

XXXI. Dum hæc geruntur in Italiâ, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe centum viginti navium, circumvectus Sardinix et Corsicæ oram, et obsidibus utrinque acceptis, in Africam transmisit:³ et, priusquam in continentem excensiones faceret, Meninge⁴ insulâ vastatâ, et ab incolentibus Cercinam, ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis, ad littora Africæ accessit copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii, juxta effusi, ac si insulis cultorum

¹ *Hos ordines suos.* "In your army let these have the post they had in mine."

² *Eam nubem quæ sed.* Cf. *Hom. Il.* v. 522. 'Ἄλλ' ἔμενον νεφέλῃσιν οἰκότες, ἃς τε Κρονίῳ Νηρηΐης ἔστησεν ἐπ' ἀκροπόλοισιν ὄρεσσιν Ἀτρεΐαν, ὅφρ' εὐδῆσαι μένος Βορέοιο καὶ ἄλλων Ζαχρηῶν ἀνέμων, οἳ τε νέφεα σκιδόντα Πνοιῆσιν λιγυρῆσι διασκιδῶσιν ἀέντες.

³ *Transmisit.* Used in a neuter sense, as often in *Livy*.

⁴ *Meninge.* The island Meninx, near the Lesser Syrtis, the modern Gerbi. Polybius says: Μετὰ καὶ ταῦτα καταπλεύσας τῆς Λιβύης ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κερκινητίων νῆσον, καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν χρήματα τοῦ μὴ πορθεῖναι τὴν χώραν, ἀπηλλάγη.

nitis, (extremum autumnus erat)¹ Fabii artibus cum summâ inter se concordiam bellum gesserunt. Frumentatum² exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant, carpentes agmen, palatosque excipientes; in casum universæ dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non veniebant. adeoque inopiâ est coactus Hannibal,³ ut, nisi tum fugæ speciem abeundo timuisset, Galliam⁴ repetiturus fuerit, nullâ relictâ spe alendi exercitûs in eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent. Quum ad Geronium, jam hieme impediante, constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati⁵ Romam venêre. ab iis quadraginta pateræ aureæ magni ponderis in curiam illatæ, atque ita verba facta, ut dicerent: Scire sese, Romani populi ærarium bello exhaustum: et, quum juxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum, ac pro capite atque arce Italiæ, urbe Romanâ atque imperio, geratur, æquum censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi, quum ad templorum ornatum, tum ad subsidium fortunæ, a majoribus relictum foret, eo juvare populum Romanum. Si quam opem in sese crederent, eodem studio fuisse oblaturus. gratum sibi Patres Romanos populumque facturum, si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent; dignosque judicaverint, ab quibus donum, animo ac voluntate eorum, qui libentes darent, quam re, majus ampliusque, acciperent. Legatis gratiæ actæ pro munificentia curaque. patera, quæ ponderis minimi fuit, accepta.⁶

XXXIII. Per eodem dies speculator Karthaginiensis,

¹ *Extrem. autum. erat.* Var. lect. *Jam enim autumnus erat tempus.*

² *Frumentatum.* The active Supine from *frumentor.*

³ *Adeoque inop. est coactus H.* "Vix Latina oratio. Tentabam,—*Et ad id inopia est redactus H.*" (*Gronovius.*)

⁴ *Galliam, i. e.* Galliam Cisalpinam.

⁵ *Neapolitani leg.* Neapolis, the

modern Naples, was a colony from Cumæ. It first entered into a treaty with the Romans immediately at the beginning of the second Samnite War, B.C. 326.

⁶ *Patera quæ accepta.* Cf. the conduct of the senate in the similar case of the embassy from Pæstum, cap. XXXVI.

qui per biennium fefellerat, Romæ deprehensus, præcisisque manibus dimissus : et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod in campo Martio conjurassent. indici data libertas, et æris gravis viginti millia.¹ Legati et ad Philippum,² Macedonum regem, missi ad deponendum Demetrium Pharium,³ qui, bello victus, ad eum fugisset : et alii in Ligures⁴ ad expostulandum, quod Pœnum opibus auxiliisque suis juvisent : simul ad visendum ex propinquo, quæ in Boiis atque Insubribus⁵ gererentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cujus dies exierat, poscendum ; aut, si diem proferre vellet, obsides accipiendos. adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinqua quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit, ædem Concordiæ, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius prætor in Galliâ vovisset, locatam ad id tempus non esse. itaque duumviri, ad eam rem creati a M. Æmilio, prætore urbis, Cn. Pupius et K. Quintius Flamininus, ædem in arce⁶ faciendam

¹ *Æris gravis vig. millia.* "The *æs grave* was not, as has been supposed by some, the old heavy coins as distinguished from the lighter modern : but, as Niebuhr (*Rom. Hist.* i. 458) has remarked, it signified any number of copper coins reckoned according to the old style, by weight." *Smith's Dict. Antiq.*

² *Philippum.* This was Philip V., son of Demetrius II., and cousin of Antigonos Doseon. Livy xxiii. 33, says of him : *Is ubi primum famâ accepit, Hannibalem Alpes transgressum, ut bello inter Romanos Pœnumque orto letatus erat, ita, utrius populi mallet victoriam esse, incertis adhuc viribus, fluctuatus animo fuerat.*" After the battle of Cannæ he sent ambassadors to Hannibal, but they were captured. In the second Macedonian war he was completely defeated at Cynoscephalæ : some years afterwards he murdered his

son Demetrius, and died of remorse, B.C. 179.

³ *Demetrium Pharium.* He had been the chief minister of Teuta, the famous queen of Illyria. She made him governor of Corcyra, which he basely surrendered to the Romans : for this service he was made governor of all southern Illyria. In B.C. 219, L. Æmilius Paulus (who died so nobly at Cannæ) was ordered to stop the governor's piratical practices, which he had recommenced, and Demetrius fled to the court of Philip, whose minister he became shortly afterwards.

⁴ *Ligures.* A wild people of uncertain race, living in the Maritime Alps and Upper Apennines.

⁵ *Boiis atque Insub.* These Gaulish nations had declared for Hannibal after the skirmish of the Ticinus.

⁶ *Arce.* This was one of the two summits of the Capitol. Cf. *Smith's Dict. Geog. Art. Rome.*

locaverunt. Ab eodem prætore ex senatûs consulto literæ ad consules missæ, ut, si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret: se in eam diem, quam jussissent, comitia edicturum. Ad hæc a consulibus rescriptum, sine detrimento reipublicæ abscedi non posse ab hoste: itaque per interregem¹ comitia habenda esse potius, quam consulum alter a bello advocaretur. Patribus rectius visum est, dictatorem a consule dici comitiorum habendorum causâ. dictus L. Veturius Philo M'. Pomponium Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. His vitio creatis, jussisque die quartodecimo se magistratu abdicare, ad interregnum res rediit.

XXXIV. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. interreges proditi a Patribus² C. Claudius, Ap. filius, Centho, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In ejus interregno comitia habita magno certamine Patrum ac plebis. C. Terentio Varroni, quem, sui generis hominem,³ plebei⁴ insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabii opibus et dictatorio imperio concussis alienâ invidiâ splendentem, vulgus et extrahere ad consulatum nitebatur, Patres summâ ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi æquari assuescerent homines. Q. Bæbius Herennius, tribunus plebis, cognatus C. Terentii,

¹ *Interregem*. "This office is said to have been instituted on the death of Romulus, when the senate wished to share the sovereign power among themselves instead of electing a king. . . . The Senate was divided into ten decuries, and from each of these decuries one senator was nominated. . . . Interreges were appointed under the Republic for holding the comitia for the election of the consuls, when the consuls, through civil commotions or other causes, had been unable to do so in their year of office. Each held the office for only five days, as under the kings." *Smith's Dict. Antiq.*

² *A patribus*. "Plebeians were not admissible to this office: and consequently when plebeians were admitted into the senate, the patrician senators met without the plebeian members to elect an interrex. For this reason. . . . we find that the tribunes of the plebs were strongly opposed to the appointment of an interrex." *Smith's Dict. Antiq.*

³ *Sui gen. hom.* Cf. note on *Ianium*, cap. XXV.

⁴ *Plebei*. The dative after *conciliatum*.

criminando non senatum modo, sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent comitia perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem candidato suo conciliabat: Ab hominibus nobilibus, per multos annos bellum quærentibus, Hannibalem in Italiam adductum: ab iisdem, quum debellari possit, fraude id bellum trahi. cum quatuor militum legionibus universis pugnari posse apparuisse eo, quod M. Minucius, absente Fabio, prospere pugnâset; duas legiones hosti ad cædem objectas, deinde ex ipsâ cæde ereptas, ut *pater patronusque* appellaretur, qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos, quam vinci. Consules deinde Fabianis artibus, quum debellare possent, bellum traxisse. Id fœdus inter omnes nobiles ictum: nec finem ante belli habituros, quam consulem vere plebeium, id est, hominem novum, fecissent. nam plebeios nobiles jam iisdem initiatos esse sacris, et contemnere plebem, ex quo contemni desierint a Patribus, cœpisse. Cui non id apparere, id actum et quæsitum esse, ut interregnum iniretur, ut in Patrum potestate comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quæsisse: id postea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causâ, expugnatum esse, ut vitiosus dictator per augures fieret.¹ habere igitur interregnum eos. Consulatum unum certe plebis Romanæ esse: populum liberum habiturum, ac daturum ei, qui magis vere vincere, quam diu imperare, malit.

XXXV. Quum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merendâ, L. Manlio Volgone, M. Æmilio Lepido, duobus nobilibus jam familiarum plebei, C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Ælio Pæto, quorum alter pontifex,² alter augur erat, C. Terentius consul unus

¹ *Ut vitiosus... fieret.* "That they should get the augurs to declare the dictator informally elected."

² *Pontifex.* The pontiffs were the

most illustrious among the great colleges of priests. They were first appointed by Numa, and were four in number: at their head was the pontifex

creatur, ut in manu ejus essent comitia rogando collegæ. Tum experta nobilitas, parum fuisse virium in competitoribus, L. Æmiliū Paullum,¹ qui cum M. Livio² consul fuerat, et damnatione collegæ, et suâ prope, ambustus evaserat,³ infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem, ad petitionem compellit. is proximo comitali die, concedentibus omnibus, qui cum Varrone certaverant, par magis in adversandum, quam collega, datur consuli. Inde prætorialia comitia habita. Creati M'. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus. Romæ juri dicundo urbana sors⁴ Pomponio, inter cives Romanos et peregrinos P. Furio Philo evenit. Additi duo prætores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, Lucius Postumius Albinus in Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt: nec cuiquam eorum, præter Terentium consulem, mandatus honos, quem jam non antea gessisset, præteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris; quia in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

XXXVI. Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt. Quantæ autem peditum equitumque additæ sint copiæ, adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores, ut vix quicquam satis certum affirmare ausim. Decem millia novorum militum alii scripta in supplementum: alii novas quatuor legiones, ut octo legionibus rem gererent: numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas, millibus peditum et

maximus. In B.C. 800 their number was increased to eight, four to be plebeians. For their duties, cf. *Liv.* i. 20.

¹ *L. Æmiliū Paullum*. "He had been consul three years before, and had been brought to trial for an alleged misappropriation of the plunder taken in the Illyrian war, and, although acquitted, was one of the most unpopular men in Rome. Yet he was known to be a good soldier: and the people, having obtained the election of Varro,

did not object to gratify the aristocracy by accepting the candidate of their choice." *Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 130.

² *M. Livio*. This was the famous M. Livius Salinator who afterwards commanded at the Metaurus.

³ *Ambustus evaserat*. "Had escaped not altogether unscathed from the fiery ordeal." Cf. *Semiustum effugisse*, cap. XL.

⁴ *Urbana sors*. Pomponius was elected *Prætor Urbanus*, and Philus *Prætor Peregrinus*. The former was considered the higher office.

centenis equitibus singulas adjectis, ut quina millia peditum, treceni equites essent;¹ socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, pedites æquarent: septem et octoginta millia armatorum et ducentos in castris² Romanis, quum pugnatum ad Cannas est, quidam auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat, majore conatu atque impetu rem actam, quam prioribus annis; quia spem, posse vinci hostem, dictator præbuerat. Ceterum, priusquam signa ab urbe novæ legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere jussi propter territos vulgo homines novis prodigiis. nam, et Romæ in Aventino³ et Ariciæ,⁴ nunciatum erat, sub idem tempus lapidibus pluisse: et multo cruore signa in Sabinis cædis,⁵ aquas e fonte calidas manasse. Id quidem, etiam, quod sæpius acciderat, magis terrebat; et in viâ Fornicatâ,⁶ quæ ad campum erat, aliquot homines de cælo tacti exanimatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris⁷ procurata. Legati a Pæsto⁸ pateras aureas Romam attulerunt. iis, sicut Neapolitanis, gratiæ actæ, aurum non acceptum.⁹

XXXVII. Per eosdem dies ab Hierone⁹ classis Ostiam

¹ *Centenis eq. adject. ut. treceni eq. essent.* "Hic requirimus Livii diligentiam. Nihil enim opus fuit adjunctione centenûm equitum in singulas legiones, ut treceni essent. Nam hic solemnitas est numerus." *Drakenb.*

² *Aventino.* The Aventine is the most southern of the seven hills of Rome, and its western side extends close to the river. It was long the stronghold of the plebeians.

³ *Aricia.* A town in Latium, not far from Alba Longa, upon the Appian Way.

⁴ *Signa in Sab. cædis.* "Locus corruptus. Vocem *cædis*, quæ procul dubio vitiosa est, alii alio modo immutant... Fortasse legendum. *Et multo cruore signa in Sabinis, Cærites aquas e fonte cruentas manasse.* (*Drakenb.*) The waters of Cære are mentioned as having flowed with blood in cap. 1.

⁵ *Vid. fornicaâ.* *Fornix* means an arch or vault. The "Arched Way" or "Colonnade" was a street which led into the Campus Martius.

⁶ *Libris.* Cf. note cap. ix.

⁷ *Pæstum.* A town in Lucania, anciently called Posidonia, on the coast not far from the mouth of the Silarus. It was celebrated for its roses. Cf. *Verg. Georg.* iv. 118. "Forsitan et, pingues hortos quæ cura colendi Ornaret, canerem, bilerique rosaria Pæsti."

⁸ *Aurum non acceptum.* Cf. the case of the Neapolitan embassy, cap. xxxii.

⁹ *Hiero.* He became King of Syracuse in B.C. 270. As he determined to drive out the Mamertines from Messana, these latter obtained the aid of the Romans, and Hiero was obliged to shut himself up within the walls of his capital. Struck with their energy—"They had conquered him," he said,

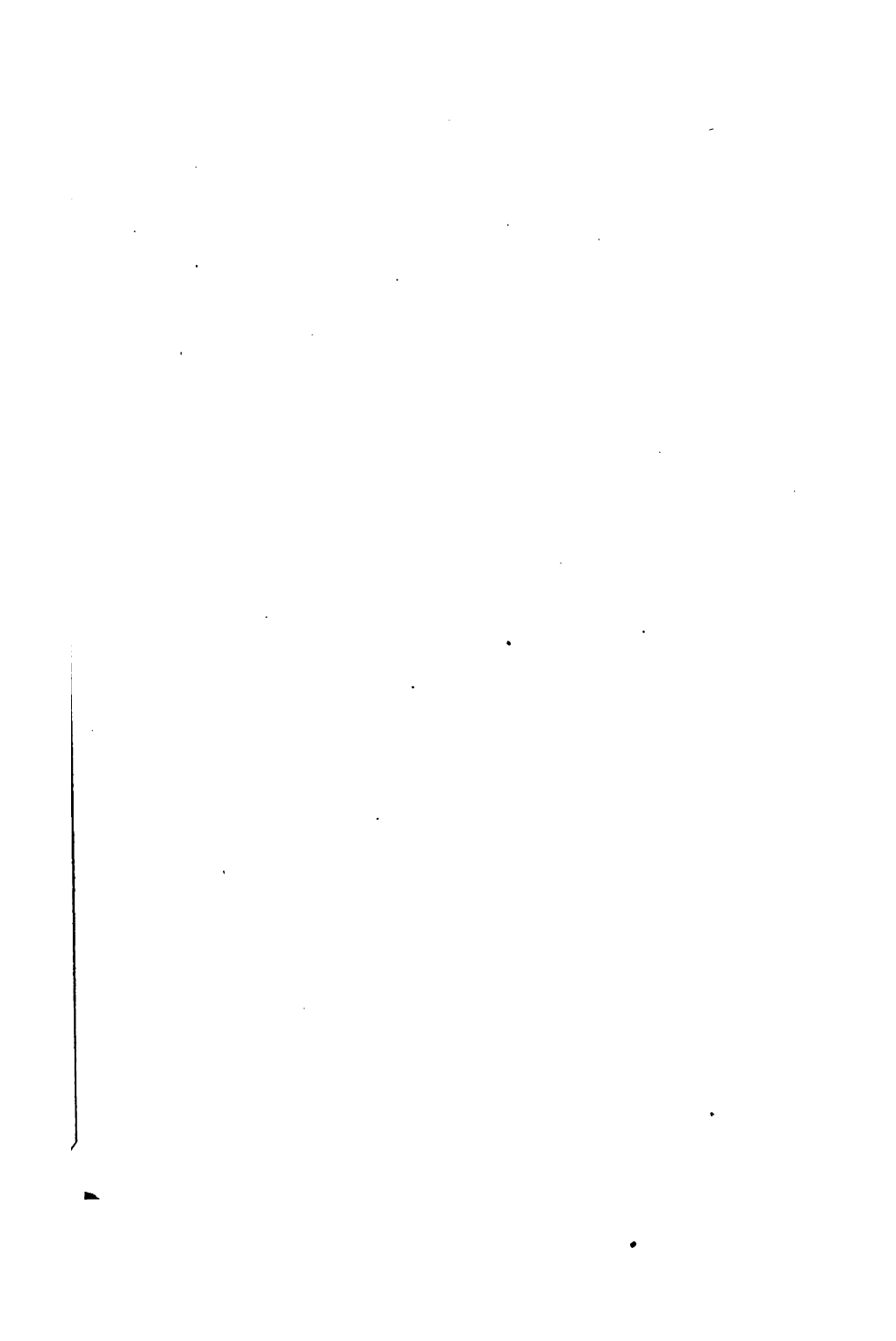
cum magno commeatu accessit. Legati Syracusani, in senatum introducti, nunciârunt: Cædem C. Flamini consulis exercitûsque allatam adeo ægre tulisse regem Hieronem, ut nullâ suâ propriâ regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quanquam probe sciat, magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus, quam secundis, esse; tamen se omnia, quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella juvari soleant, misisse: quæ ne accipere abnuant, magno opere se Patres conscriptos orare. Jam omnium primum, ominis causâ, Victoriâ auream pondo trecentûm viginti afferre sese. acciperent eam, tenerentque, et haberent propriam et perpetuam. Advexisse etiam trecenta millia modîum¹ tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent: et, quantum præterea opus esset, quo jussissent, subvecturos. Milite atque equite, scire, nisi Romano Latinique nominis,² non uti populum Romanum: levium armatorum auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris Romanis. Itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum adversus Baliares³ ac Mauros, pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium quoque addebant, ut prætor, cui provincia Sicilia evenisset, classem in Africam trajiceret; ut et hostes in terrâ suâ bellum haberent, minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali submittenda. Ab senatu ita responsum regi est: Virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse, atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse, ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adjuvisse. id, perinde ac deberet, gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum,

before he had had time to see them,"—he concluded a treaty with them. From this time forth until his death, forty-seven years after, he remained the firm ally of the Roman people. He died very soon after the battle of Cannæ.

¹ *Modium*. The *modius* was one-sixth of the *medimnus*, and equal to about two gallons of English measure.

² *Latini nominis*. Cf. note, cap. vii.

³ *Baliares*. From the Balearic Islands, off the eastern coast of Spain.



et a civitatibus quibusdam¹ allatum, gratiâ rei acceptâ, non accepisse populum Romanum. Victoriâ omenque accipere; sedemque ei se divæ dare dicare Capitolium, templum Jovis Optimi Maximi. in eâ arce urbis Romanæ sacratam, volentem propitiâque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano. Funditores, sagittariique, et frumentum traditum consulibus. Quinqueremes ad navium classem,² quæ cum T. Otacilio proprætore in Siciliâ erant, quinque et viginti additæ; permissumque est, ut, si e republicâ censeret esse, in Africam trajiceret.

XXXVIII. Delectu perfecto, consules paucos morati dies, dum socii ab nomine Latino³ venirent. Milites tunc,⁴ quod nunquam antea factum erat, jurejurando ab tribunis militum adacti,⁵ jussu consulum conventuros, neque injussu abituros. nam ad eam diem nihil præter sacramentum fuerat; et, ubi ad decuriatum aut centuriatum convenissent, suâ voluntate ipsi inter se, equites decuriati, centuriati pedites, conjurabant,⁶ sese fugæ atque formidinis ergo non abituros,

¹ *Civit. quibusdam.* Neapolis and Pæstum. Cf. capp. xxxii. xxxvi.

² *Ad navium classem.* The number of ships seems to have dropped out of the text. Perhaps we should restore CL. i. e. 150, after *navium*, which letters may have been confused with the first two of *classem*.

³ *Nom. Lat.* Cf. note, cap. vii.

⁴ *Milites tunc.* "Livy says that until the year B.C. 216 the military oath was a real sacramentum, i. e. the soldiers took it voluntarily, and promised (with imprecations) that they would not desert from the army, and not leave their ranks except to fight against the enemy or to save a Roman citizen. But in the year B.C. 216 the soldiers were compelled by the tribunes to take the oath, which the tribunes put to them, that they would meet at the command of the consuls and not leave the standards

without their orders, so that in this case the military oath became a *jusjurandum*. But Livy here forgets that long before that time he has represented (iii. 20.) the soldiers taking the same *jusjurandum*." *Smith's Dict. Antiq.* Art. *Oath*. Livy seems to wish to draw a distinction between the previous *voluntarium jusjurandum* or *sacramentum* and the present *legitimum jusjurandi* (or *sacramenti*) *adactionem*.

⁵ *Adacti.* The formal phrase for putting a person on his oath was *Adigere aliquem ad jusjurandum*, or without the preposition, or with the ablative. Tacitus uses the simple word *adigere*. (*Hist.* iv. 15.)

⁶ *Conjurabant.* *Conjuratio* was an oath punishable by the gods, more voluntary than *jusjurandum*, or oath punishable by man, i. e. a state oath.

neque ex ordine recessuros, nisi teli sumendi aut petendi, et aut hostis ferendi, aut civis servandi, causâ. id ex voluntario inter ipsos fœdere a tribunis ad legitimam jurisjurandi adactionem translatum. Conciones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, consulis Varronis multæ ac feroces fuere, denunciantis, bellum (arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus, mansurumque in visceribus reipublicæ, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet) se, quo die hostem vidisset, perfecturum. Collegæ ejus Paulli una, pridie quam ex urbe proficiscerentur, concio fuit, verior, quam gratior populo, quâ nihil inclementer in Varronem dictum, nisi id modo: mirari se, quomodo quis dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis, nôsset, jam nunc locatus in urbe¹ sciret, quæ sibi agenda armato forent; et diem quoque prædicere posset, quâ cum hoste signis collatis esset dimicaturus. Se, quæ consilia magis res dent hominibus, quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non præcepturum. optare, ut, quæ caute atque consulte gesta essent, satis prospere evenirent. temeritatem, præterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. Id suâ sponte apparebat, tuta celeribus consiliis præpositurum. et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem allocutus fertur:

XXXIX. "Si aut collegam (id quod mallet) tui similem, L. Æmili, haberes, aut tu collegæ tui similis esses, supervacanea esset oratio mea. nam et duo boni consules, etiam me indicente,² omnia e republicâ fide vestrâ faceretis: et mali nec mea verba auribus vestris, nec consilia animis, acciperetis.

¹ *Locatus in urbe.* Perhaps we ought to read with Muretus *togatus in urbe*, as *togatus* is the usual word opposed to *armatus*: cf. cap. xxxix. "Qui tantas.. procellas.. inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam juventutem censes facturum."

² *Me indicente.* "Me non dicente, tacente. Verbum *indicente* rarissimum est: eo tamen usus est Terentius in *Adelph. Act III. Sc. 5. Non me indicente hæc fiunt.*" (*Drakenb.*) There is a var. lect. *tacente*.

nunc, et collegam tuum et te talem virum intuenti, mihi tecum omnis oratio est: quem video nequicquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si alterâ parte claudicet¹ respublica. malis consiliis idem ac bonis juris et potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paulle, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio, quam cum Hannibale, futurum censes. nescio an infestior hic adversarius, quam ille hostis, maneat: cum illo in acie tantum, cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus, certaturus es: et adversus Hannibalem, legionesque ejus, tuis equitibus² ac peditibus pugnandum tibi est: Varro dux tuis militibus te est oppugnaturus. Ominis³ etiam tibi causâ absit C. Flamini memoria. tamen ille consul demum, et in provinciâ, et ad exercitum, coepit furere: hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit. et, qui tantas jam nunc procellas, proelia atque acies jactando, inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam juventutem censes facturum, et ubi extemplo verba res sequitur? Atqui, si hic, quod facturum se denunciat, extemplo pugnaverit; aut ego rem militarem, belli hoc genus, hostem hunc, ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasimeno locus nostris cladibus erit. Nec gloriandi tempus adversus unum est;⁴ et ego, contemnendo potius, quam appetendo, gloriam, modum excesserim. Sed ita res se habet. una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem est quâ ego gessi. nec eventus modo hoc docet, (stultorum iste magister est) sed eadem ratio, quæ fuit, futuraque, donec res eædem manebunt, immutabilis est. In Italiâ bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro. omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt. armis,

¹ *Claudicet.* "To be halt or lame," hence, "to waver," "be wanting."

² *Tuis equit.* "Under your own command."

³ *Ominis.* He is about to speak of

Flaminius, and therefore he deprecates the ill omen.

⁴ *Nec gloriandi temp. adv. unum est.* "This is no occasion for vain-glorious speeches when in the presence of a single individual."

viris, equis, commeatibus juvant juvabuntque: id jam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dederunt. meliores, prudentiores, constantiores, nos tempus diesque facit. Hannibal, contra, in alienâ, in hostili est terrâ, inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo, procul a patriâ: neque illi terrâ, neque mari, est pax; nullæ eum urbes accipiunt, nulla mœnia: nihil usquam sui videt: in diem rapto vivit. Partem vix tertiam exercitûs ejus habet, quem Iberum amnem trajecit. plures fames, quam ferrum, absumpsit: nec his paucis jam victus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo, quin sedendo superaturi simus eum, qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam, habeat? Quamdiu pro Geronii, castelli Apuliæ inopis, tanquam pro Karthaginis mœnibus sedet?¹ Ne adversus te quidem ego gloriabor. Cn. Servilius atque Atilius, proximi consules,² vide, quemadmodum eum ludificati sint. Hæc una salutis est via, L. Paulte, quam difficilem infestamque cives sibi magis, quam hostes, facient. idem enim tui, quod hostium milites, volent: idem Varro, consul Romanus, quod Hannibal, Pœnus imperator, cupiet. duobus ducibus unus resistas, oportet: resistes autem, adversus famam rumoresque hominum³ si satis firmus steteris; si te neque collegæ vana gloria, neque tua falsa infamia moverit. Veritatem laborare⁴ nimis sæpe, aiunt, exstingui nunquam. Gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit. Sine, timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli, vocent. malo te sapiens hostis metuat, quam stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal: nil temere agentem metuet.

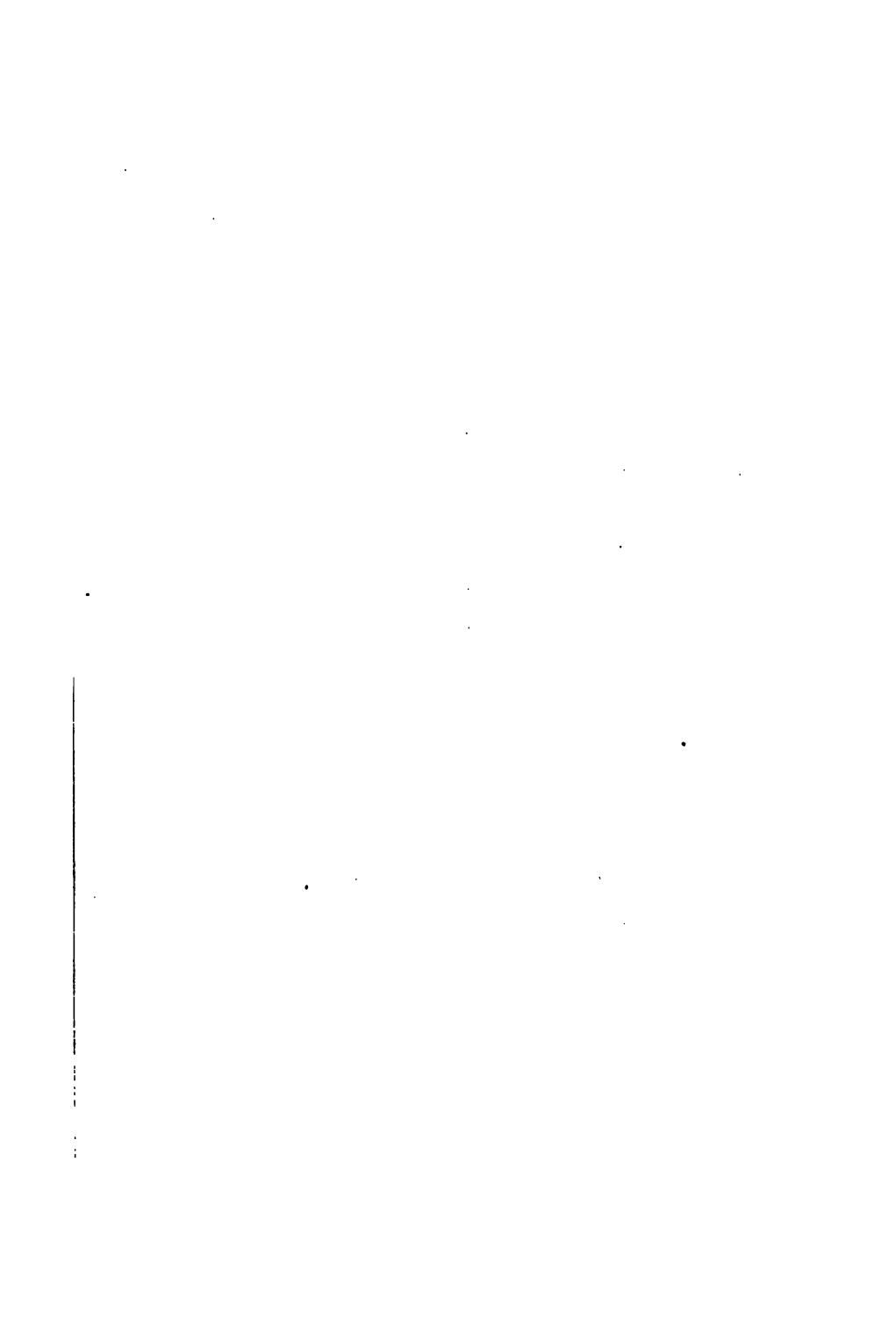
¹ *Sedet.* Libri, *mœnibus?* *Sed ne...* *rumores* ante salutem: Ergo magisque suppl. *sedet.* magisque viri nunc gloria claret."

² *Proximi consules.* "Consuls of last year."

³ *Rumoresque hom.* Ennius says of Fabius himself, "Non ponebat enim

⁴ *Laborare.* "Suffers eclipse." Cf. *Verg. Georg.* II. 478. "Defectus solis varios lunæque labores."





Nec ego, ut nihil agatur, moneo; sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna: tuæ potestatis semper, tuaque omnia sint. armatus intentusque sis: neque occasione tuæ desis, neque suam occasionem hosti des. Omnia non properanti clara certaue erunt. festinatio improvida est, et cæca."

XL. Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane læta fuit, magis fatentis, ea quæ diceret, vera, quam facilia factu, esse. Dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse; quid consuli adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virum atque auctoritatis fore? Se populare incendium priore consulatu semiustum effugisse:¹ optare, ut omnia prospere evenirent. at, si quid adversi caderet, hostium se telis potius, quam suffragiis iratorum civium, caput objecturum. Ab hoc sermone profectum Paullum tradunt, prosequentibus primoribus Patrum. Plebeium consulem sua plebes² prosecuta, turbâ, quam dignitate, conspexior. Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam³ factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem,⁴ in veteribus major pars, et omne robur virium esset: tum, consulem anni prioris, M. Atilium, ætatem excusantem, Romam miserunt; Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanæ, et sociûm peditum equitumque duobus millibus, præficiunt. Hannibal, quanquam parte dimidiâ auctas hostium copias

¹ *Semiustum effig.* Cf. *ambustus evaserat*, cap. xxxv. and note on *L. Æm. Paul.* same chapter.

² *Sua plebes.* Cf. *Sui generis hominem.* Cap. xxxiv.

³ *Bifariam.* Originally the accus. fem. of *bifarius*, understanding *partem*. Even Plautus uses it adverbially. Cf. *Plaut. Aut.* II. 4. 8.

⁴ *Hannibal.* "Never was Hannibal's genius more displayed than during this long period of inactivity. . . . Those of his soldiers who were not Gauls, were either Spaniards or Africans: the Spaniards were the newly conquered sub-

jects of Carthage, strangers to her race and language, and accustomed to divide their lives between actual battle and the most listless bodily indolence. . . . Even the Africans were foreigners to Carthage: they were subjects harshly governed, and had been engaged within the last twenty years in a war of extermination with their masters. Yet the long inactivity of winter quarters, trying to the discipline of the best national armies, was borne patiently by Hannibal's soldiers: there was neither desertion nor mutiny amongst them." *Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 131.

cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus superabat, sed ne, unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat, omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes munitas convecto; ut vix decem dierum (quod compertum postea est) frumentum superesset, Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum exspectata foret.

XLI. Ceterum temeritati consulis ac præproprio ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit: quod in prohibendis prædatoribus tumultuario prælio, ac procursu magis militum, quam ex præparato aut jussu imperatorum, orto, haudquaquam par Pœnis dimicatio fuit. ad mille et septingenti cæsi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. ceterum victoribus, effuse sequentibus, metu insidiarum obstitit Paullus consul, cujus eo die (nam alternis imperitabant) imperium erat, Varrone indignante, ac vociferante, emissum hostem e manibus; debellarique,¹ ni cessatum foret, potuisse. Hannibal id damnum haud ægerrime pati, quin potius credere, velut inescatam temeritatem² ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse. et omnia ei hostium, haud secus quam sua, nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque, locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus, nocte proximâ nihil præter arma ferentes secum milites ducens, castra plena omnis fortunæ publicæ privatæque relinquit; transque proximos montes lævâ pedites instructos condit, dextrâ equites, impedimenta per convallem, medium agmen,³ traducit; ut diripiendis, velut desertis fugâ

¹ *Debellarique ni...potuisse.* "That the war might have been brought to a close if the movement had not been stopped." *Cessare* means "to stop in the ordinary course of work."

² *Velut inescat. temer.* "Would act as a bait to the rashness."

³ *Imped. per convall. med. agm.* "Videtur innuere Livius equitatum ac peditatum ipsos superasse montes: sola

dominorum, castris occupatum impeditumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relictī in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fugā præciperet, falsā imagine castrorum (sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset) tenere in locis consules voluisse.

XLII. Ubi illuxit, subductæ primo stationes, deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium admirationem¹ fecit. Jam satis compertâ solitudine in castris, concursus fit ad prætoria consulum, nunciantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam, ut, tabernaculis stantibus, castra reliquerint: quoque fuga obscurior esset, crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus, ut signa proferri juberent, ducerentque ad persequendos hostes, ac protinus castra diripienda. Et consul alter velut unus turbæ militaris erat. Paullus etiam atque etiam dicere, providendum præcavendumque esse. postremo, quum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium præfectum cum turmâ Lucanâ exploratum² mittit. qui, ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris jussis, ipse cum duobus equitibus vallum intravit: speculatusque omnia cum curâ renunciat, insidias profecto esse: ignes in parte castrorum, quæ vergat in hostem, relictos: tabernacula aperta, et omnia cara in promptu relictâ: argentum quibusdam locis temere per vias, velut objectum ad prædam, vidisse. Quæ ad deterrendos a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt; et, clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur, sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit. nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficiscendi. Paullus, quum ei, suâ sponte cunctanti, pulli³ quoque auspicio non addixissent,

impedimenta, ut quæ gravioris sunt moliminis, traducta per convallem, longiore circuitu." *Drakenb.*

¹ *Admirationem.* "Surprise."

² *Exploratum.* The active Supine.

³ *Pulli.* "Another method of taking the auspices, more usual on military expeditions, was from the feeding of

obnunciari¹ jam efferenti portâ signa collegæ jussit. quod quanquam Varro ægre est passus, Flamini tamen recens casus, Claudique consulis² primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades, religionem animo incussit. Dii prope ipsi eo die magis distulere, quam prohibuere, imminensem pestem Romanis. nam forte ita evenit, ut, quum referri signa in castra jubenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus, alter Sidicini equitis,³ qui, Servilio atque Atilio consulibus, inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos: qui, deducti ad consules, nunciant, omnem exercitum Hannibalis trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis. Horum opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes fecit, quum ambitio⁴ alterius suam primum apud eos pravâ indulgentiâ majestatem solvisset.

XLIII. Hannibal, postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos, quam ad ultimum temere evectos, vidit, nequicquam, detectâ fraude, in castra rediit.⁵ Ibi plures dies

birds confined in a cage, and committed to the care of the *pullarius*. . . When all around seemed favourable, either at dawn or in the evening, the *pullarius* opened the cage and threw to the chickens pulse, or a kind of soft cake. If they refused to come out or to eat, or uttered a cry, or beat their wings, or flew away, the signs were considered unfavourable, and the engagement was delayed. On the contrary if they ate greedily so that something fell and struck the earth, it was held a favourable sign." *Smith's Dict. Antiq.* Art. *Auspicum*.

¹ *Obnunciari*. The force of *ob* is, "To report the evil omen."

² *Claudique cons.* A younger son of the old Appius Claudius Cæcus; he was consul in B.C. 249, and had formed a design to surprise the Carthaginian fleet at Drepanum. When warned by the *pullarii* that the sacred chickens would not feed, "Then let them drink"

said the irreverent commander, and threw them into the sea. The Romans were afterwards totally defeated. Cf. *Cic. de Div.* II. 33. "Nec vero non omni supplicio digni P. Claudius, L. Junius, consules, qui contra auspicia navigarunt. Parendum enim fuit religioni nec patrius mos tam contumaciter repudiandus. Jure igitur alter populi judicio damnatus est: alter mortem sibi ipse conscivit."

³ *Sidicini eq.* The Sidicini were a people on the borders of the Falernian plain in Campania. Their chief town was Teanum.

⁴ *Ambitio*. It literally means "a going round," used of candidates canvassing. Then it came to mean "self-seeking," "obsequiousness," "bribery."

⁵ *Nequicquam. . . rediit*. "Re infected rediit. Sic apud Sall. in bello Jugurth. cap. 25. *Legati frustra discessere.*" *Drakenb.*

propter inopiam frumenti manere nequibat; novaque consilia in dies, non apud milites solum, mixtos ex colluvione omnium gentium, sed etiam apud ipsum ducem, oriebantur. nam, quum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum, querentiumque annonam primo, postremo famem; et mercenarios milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset: ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fugâ in Galliam¹ dicitur agitasse, ita ut, relicto peditatu omni, cum equitibus se proriperet.² Quum hæc consilia, atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit³ in calidiora, atque eo maturiora messibus, Apuliæ loca; simul ut, quo longius ab hoste recessisset, transfugia impeditiora levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte, ignibus similiter factis, tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos. Sed, per eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis, quum relatum esset, visum procul hostium agmen; tum de insequendo eo consilia agitari cœpta. Quum utriusque consulis eadem, quæ semper ante, fuisset sententia; ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo præter Servilium, prioris anni consulem, assentiretur; majoris partis sententiâ ad nobilitandas clade Romanâ Cannas, urgente fato profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum Hannibal castra

¹ *In Galliam.* i. e. Galliam Cisalpinam.

² *Cum equit. se prorip.* "To make a dash for it with his cavalry."

³ *Movere inde statuit.* Sc. Castra. "Spring was come, and wellnigh departing: and in the warm plains of Apulia the corn was ripening fast, while Hannibal's winter supplies were now nearly exhausted. He broke up from his camp before Geronium, des-

cended the Apulian plains, and whilst the Roman army was still in its winter position, he threw himself on its rear, and surprised its great magazine at Cannæ. The citadel of Cannæ was a fortress of some strength: this accordingly he occupied, and placed himself, on the very eve of harvest, between the Roman army and its expected resources, while he secured to himself all the corn of southern Apulia." *Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 183.

posuerat, aversa a Vulturno vento,¹ qui campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. id quum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare præcipue futurum erat, quum aciem dirigerent, ipsi aversi, terga tantum afflante vento, in obcæcatum pulvere effuso hostem pugnaturi. \

XLIV. Consules, satis exploratis itineribus, sequentes Pœnum,² ut ventum ad Cannas est, ubi in conspectu Pœnum habebant, bina castra communiunt eodem ferme intervallo, quo ad Geronium; sicut ante copiis divisiss. Aufidus amnis, utrisque castris affluens, aditum aquatoribus ex suâ cujusque opportunitate haud sine certamine dabat. ex minoribus tamen castris, quæ posita trans Aufidum³ erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium præsidium. Hannibal, spem nactus, locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, quâ parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, dirigit aciem, lacessitque Numidarum procursatione hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordiâ consulum Romana castra; quum Paullus Sempronique⁴ et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro speciosum timidis ac segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium objiceret: testareturque Deos hominesque

¹ *Vulturno vento.* This wind is named after Mount Vultur, near Venusia in Apulia. Horace mentions the mountain. "Me fabulosæ Vulture in Apulo altricis extra limen Apuliæ.... palumbes texere." (*Od.* III. 4, 9.) The wind would therefore be nearly S.E.

² *Consules seq. Pœnum.* "The Romans, till the arrival of the new consuls, had not ventured to follow Hannibal closely: for when they did follow him, it took them two days' march to arrive in his neighbourhood, where they encamped at about six miles distance from him. They found him on the left bank of the Aufidus, about eight or nine miles from the sea,

and busied probably in collecting the corn from the early district on the coast, the season being about the middle of June." *Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 135.

³ *Trans Aufidum.* The larger camp of the Romans and the Carthaginians were on the left bank of the river: the smaller Roman camp on the right bank.

⁴ *Sempronique.* Tib. Sempronius Longus was colleague of P. Cornelius Scipio in the year that Hannibal crossed the Alps. Uniting his army with that of Scipio in Cisalpine Gaul, he recklessly engaged with Hannibal near the river Trebia, contrary to the earnest entreaties of Scipio. The Romans were, as is well known, totally defeated.

hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal jam velut usucepisset Italiam; se constrictum a collegâ teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi militibus: ille, si quid projectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se, omnis culpæ exsortem, omnis eventûs participem fore diceret. videret, ut, quibus lingua tam prompta ac temeraria, æque in pugnâ vigerent manus.

XLV. Dum altercationibus magis, quam consiliis, tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, quum in castra ceteras reciperet copias,¹ Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. quam inconditam turbam quum, vixdum in ripam egressi, clamore ac tumultu fugâssent, in stationem quoque, pro vallo locatam, atque ipsas prope portas, evecti sunt. Id vero indignum visum, ab tumultuario auxilio jam etiam castra Romana terri; ut ea modo una causa, ne extemplo transirent flumen, dirigerentque aciem, tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paullum fuerit. Itaque Varro postero die,² cui sors ejus diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collegâ, signum pugnae³ proposuit, instructasque copias flumen traduxit,⁴ sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare, quam non adjuvare, consilium poterat. Transgressi flumen, eas quoque, quas in

¹ *Quum in castra cet. recip. cop.*—“Hannibal, seeing that the enemy did not move, marched back his infantry into his camp, but sent his Numidian cavalry across the river to attack the Romans on that side, as they were coming down in straggling parties to the bank to get water. For the Aufidus, though its bed is deep and wide to hold its winter floods, is a shallow or a narrow stream in summer, with many points

easily fordable, not by horse only, but by infantry.” *Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 136.

² *Postero die.* It was the second day of August, B.C. 216.

³ *Signum pug.* A red ensign over the general's tent.

⁴ *Copias fl. trad.*, i.e. from the left to the right bank. Perhaps this was merely to enable the soldiers on that side to get water in security.

castris minoribus habuerant, copias suis adjungunt: atque, ita instructâ acie,¹ in dextro cornu (id erat flumini propius) Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites: lævum cornu, extremi, equites sociorum; intrâ, pedites, ad medium juncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt. jaculatores cum ceteris levium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta. Consules cornua tenuerunt, Terentius lævum, Æmilius dextrum: Geminio Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

XLVI. Hannibal, luce primâ, Baliaribus levique aliâ armaturâ præmissâ, transgressus flumen, ut quosque traduxerat, ita in acie locabat. Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam lævo in cornu adversus Romanum equitatum: dextrum cornu² Numidis equitibus datum, mediâ acie peditibus firmatâ; ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, interponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros Romanam magnâ ex parte crederes aciem: ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam,³ ceterum magnâ ex parte ad Trasimenum, captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta ejusdem formæ fere erant; dispare ac dissimiles gladii: Gallis prælongi ac sine mucronibus; Hispano, punctim magis, quam cæsim, assueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus, ante ceteros, habitus gentium⁴ harum tum magnitudine corporum, tum specie, terribilis erat. Galli super umbilicum

¹ *Ita instructâ acie.* Polybius says, *Τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς παρ' αὐτῶν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῶν κέρατος κατέστησε· τοὺς καὶ πεζοὺς συνεχεῖς τούτοις ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς εὐθείας ἐξέτεινε, πυκνοτέρως ἢ πρόσθεν τὰς σφείρας καθιστάνων, καὶ ποίων πολλὰ πλάσιον τὸ βάθος ἐν ταῖς σφείραις τοῦ μετώπου· τοὺς δὲ συμμάχων ἱππεῖς εἰς τὸ λαὶὸν κέρασ παρενέβαλε.* It seems inexplicable why Varro should adopt such a plan for drawing up his army, being so superior in infantry and deficient in cavalry.

² *Dextrum cornu.* The right seems to have rested on nothing, as the ground was open and level. But at a short distance were some low hills with deep ravines, where it is said Hannibal concealed a body of horsemen.

³ *Ad Trebiam.* Cf. note on *Semproniusque*, cap. XLIV.

⁴ *Ante cet. hab. gent.* The MSS. have *Ante talius hannibatus gentium harum.* The text is the emendation of Gruter.

erant nudi: Hispani linteis prætextis¹ purpurâ tunicis, candore miro fulgentibus, constiterant. Numerus omnium peditum, qui tum steterunt in acie, millium fuit quadraginta, decem. equitum. Duces cornibus præerant, sinistro Hasdrubal,² dextro Maharbal: mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit. Sol, seu de industriâ ita locatis, seu quod forte ita starent, peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat,³ Romanis in meridiem, Pœnis in septentrionem versis. ventus, (Vulturnum⁴ incolæ regionis vocant) adversus Romanis coortus, multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

XLVII. Clamore sublato, procursum ab auxiliis, et pugna levibus primum armis commissa: deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque lævum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrat, minime equestris more pugnæ: frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat, quia, nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio, hinc amnis, hinc peditum acies claudebant in directum utrinque nitentes.⁵ Stantibus ac confertis postremo turbâ equis, vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. pedestre magnâ jam ex parte certamen factum erat: acrius tamen, quam diutius, pugnatum est: pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt. Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum pugna. primo et viribus et animis pares constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque: tandem Romani, diu ac sæpe connisi,⁶ æquâ fronte acieque densâ impulere hostium

¹ *Prætextis*. The perf. part. from *prætexo* = "to furnish with a border."

² *Hasdrubal*. This was not the brother of Hannibal, but a general who seems to have acted as the manager of the commissariat.

³ *Sol.... obliquus erat*. "The sun on their left flashed obliquely on their brazen helmets, now uncovered for battle, and lit up the waving forest of their red and black plumes, which rose

upright from their helmets (sc. Roman) a foot and a half high." *Arnold*.

⁴ *Vulturnum*. Cf. note on *Vulturno vento*, cap. XLIII.

⁵ *Claudebant.... nitentes*. "Claudebant hinc Romanos, inde Gallos Hispanosque equites, qui proinde cogeantur in directum frontibus adversis niti." *Drakenb.*

⁶ *Diu ac sæpe connisi*. The right and left both kept converging towards the

cuneum,¹ nimis tenuem, eoque parum validum, a ceterâ prominentum acie. impulsis deinde, ac trepide referentibus pedem, insistere: ac, tenore uno per præceps pavore fugientium agmen in mediam primum aciem illati,² postremo, nullo resistente, ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt; qui utrinque reductis alis³ constiterant, mediâ, quâ Galli Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. qui cuneus ut pulsus æquavit frontem primum, deinde nitendo etiam sinum in medio dedit, Afri circa jam cornua fecerant; irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas: mox, cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes. Hinc Romani, defuncti nequicquam prælio uno, omissis Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant, etiam adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo iniquam, quod inclusi adversus circumfusus, sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis⁴ pugnabant.

XLVIII. Jam et in sinistro cornu Romano, ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant consertum prælium erat, segne primo, et a Punicâ cœptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidæ, præter solita arma telaque, gladios occultos sub loricis⁵ habentes, specie transfugarum quum ab suis, parmas post terga habentes, adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt; parmisque et jaculis ante pedes hostium projectis, in mediam

centre, until the army became one dense column, which soon drove back the convex line or wedge formed by the Gaulish and Spanish foot.

¹ *Hostium cuneum*. "The wedge-shaped body of the enemy."

² *In med. primum aciem illati*. "Meanwhile its victorious advance had carried it, like the English column at Fontenoy, into the midst of Hannibal's army: it had passed between the African infantry on its right and left; and now, whilst its head was struggling against the Gauls and Spaniards, its long flanks were fiercely assailed by the

Africans, who, facing about to the right and left, charged it home, and threw it into utter disorder." *Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 142.

³ *Reductis alis*. Livy uses *ale* and *cornua* promiscuously. The Africans were drawn up so that the wings on either flank were thrown back, while the line of the Gauls and Spaniards was somewhat thrown forward.

⁴ *Vegetis*. "Vigorous," "active," from *vegeo*, connected with *vigeo*.

⁵ *Loricis*. The *lorica* was a leather cuirass, or corselet of thongs (*lora*). The *thorax* was a brazen breast-plate.

aciem accepti, ductique ad ultimos, considerare ab tergo jubentur; ac, dum prœlium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt: postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum, arreptis scutis, quæ passim inter acervos cæso-rum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem; tergaque ferientes, ac poplites cædentes, stragem ingentem, ac majorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum, fecerunt. Quum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in malâ jam spe prœlium esset; Hasdrubal, qui eâ parte præerat,¹ subductos ex mediâ acie Numidas, quia segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim fugientes mittit: Hispanos et Gallos pedites, jam Afris prope fessis, cæde magis quam pugnâ, adjungit.

XLIX. Parte alterâ pugnæ Paullus, quanquam primo statim proelio fundâ graviter ictus fuerat, tamen et occurrit sæpe cum confertis Hannibali, et aliquot locis prœlium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis; omissis postremo equis,² quia consulem et ad regendum equum vires deficiebant. tum denunciante cuidam, jussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt, "Quam mallem, victos mihi traderet!"³ Equitum pedestre prœlium, quale jam haud dubiâ hostium victoriâ, fuit:⁴ quum victi

¹ *Hasdrubal qui eâ parte præerat.* "Hæc et quæ sequuntur omnino corrupta sunt, et pro deploratis habenda." *Drakenb.* Livy has said before (cap. XLVI.) that Hasdrubal was in command of the left wing, and that the Numidians were stationed on the right wing. Polybius, however, makes it clear. He says that Hasdrubal, on the left, after defeating the Roman cavalry with his Spanish and Gaulish horse, crossed over to the right wing, and uniting his squadrons with the Numidians, routed the cavalry of the Roman allies, and sent the Numidians in pursuit of them.

² *Omissis postr. eq.* "Intellige, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, primum justo militiæ suæ more in equis, deinde omissis equis." *Gronov.*

³ *Quam mallem....traderet.* To be taken ironically—"I should prefer him to give them up to me as prisoners: this is all that is wanting to render my victory certain." Plutarch, however, gives a better saying of the general. *Τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἠβουλόμην ἢ εἰ δεδεμένους παρῆλασθαι*, i. e. *Mallem, quam victos mihi traderet.*

⁴ *Equit. ped....victoriâ, fuit.* "The struggle of the cavalry fighting on foot

mori in vestigio mallent, quam fugere; victores, morantibus victoriam irati trucidarent, quos pellere non poterant. pepulerunt tamen jam paucos superantes, et labore ac vulneribus fessos. Inde dissipati omnes sunt, equosque ad fugam, qui poterant, repetebant. Cn. Lentulus, tribunus militum, quum, prætervehens equo, sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum consulem vidisset, "L. Æmili," inquit, "quem unum insontem culpæ cladis hodiernæ dii respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid superest; comes ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris. etiam sine hoc lacrimarum satis luctûsque est." Ad ea consul: "Tu quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto!¹ sed cave, frustra miserando exiguum tempus e manibus hostium evadendi absumas. Abi, nuncia publice Patribus, urbem Romanam muniant, ac prius, quam hostis victor adveniat, præsidii firment: privatimque Q. Fabio, L. Æmilium præceptorum ejus memorem et vixisse, et adhuc mori. Me in hac strage militum meorum patere expirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu² sim, aut accusator collegæ existam, ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam." Hæc exigentes prius turba fugientium civium, deinde hostes, oppressere: consulem, ignorantes quis esset, abruere telis: Lentulum inter tumultum abripuit equus. Tum inde effuse fugiunt. Septem millia hominum in minora castra, decem in majora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt: qui extemplo a Karthalone atque equitibus, nullo munimento tegente

was desperate; considering the victory was by this time beyond a doubt in the enemy's hands."

¹ *Macte virtute esto.* *Mactus* is properly a participle from *mago*, which however is not found; but the root *MAG* is found in *magis*, *magnus*,

macto, &c. Hence it means "magnified," "adored:" and in congratulatory or applauding exclamations, "Good luck," "Bravo," "Well done."

² *Reus iterum e consul.* Cf. note on *L. Æmil. Paull.* cap. xxxv.

vicum, circumventi sunt. Consul alter, seu forte, seu consilio, nulli fugientium infestus agmini,¹ cum septuaginta fere equitibus Venusiam² perfugit. Quadraginta millia peditum, duo millia septingenti equites, et tanta prope civium socio-rumque pars cæsi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quæstores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus: unus et viginti tribuni militum; consulares quidam, prætorique, et ædilicii: inter eos Cn. Servilius Geminus et M. Minucius numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot ante consul³ fuerat: octoginta præterea aut senatores, aut qui eos magistratus gessissent,⁴ unde in senatum legi deberent, quum suâ voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent. Capta eo proelio tria millia peditum, et equites trecenti, dicuntur.

L. Hæc est pugna Cannensis, Alliensi cladi⁵ nobilitate par: ceterum, ut illis, quæ post pugnam accidere, levior, quia ab hoste cessatum est, sic strage exercitûs gravior fœdiorque. fuga namque ad Alliam sicut urbem prodidit, ita exercitum servavit:⁶ ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix

¹ *Nullis fug. infestus agm.* "Vitium est in voce *infestus*. Nihil melius occurrit quam quod conjicit Gronovius, *immistus*." *Drakenb.*

² *Venusiam.* A town on the borders of Lucania and Apulia, the birth-place of Horace. Cf. *Hor. Sat.* II. 1, 34. "Lucanus an Apulus anceps: Nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus."

³ *Aliquot ante consul.* He had been consul six years before.

⁴ *Qui eos magist. gess.* During the republic "The right to appoint senators belonged to the consuls, consular tribunes, and subsequently to the censors. . . . It should not be forgotten that the power of electing senators possessed by the republican magistrates was by no means an arbitrary power, for the senators were always taken from among those who were equites, or whom the people had previously invested with a

magistracy, so that in reality the people themselves always nominated the candidates for the senate. . . . We must distinguish between two classes of senators, viz. real senators, or such as had been regularly raised to their dignity by the magistrates or the censors, and such as had, by virtue of the office which they held or had held, a right to take their seats in the senate and to speak (*sententiam dicere*), but not to vote." *Smith's Dict. Antiq.*

⁵ *Alliensi cladi.* The Allia is a little stream that rises in the Sabine Hills and flows into the Tiber, nearly opposite the Cremera. On the banks of this river the Romans were totally defeated by the Gauls under Brennus, B.C. 390.

⁶ *Exercitum servavit.* The greater part of the Roman army made good its escape to Veii.

septuaginta secuti sunt: alterius morientis prope totus exercitus fuit.¹ Binis in castris quum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus esset, nuncium, qui in majoribus erant, mittunt:² dum praelio, deinde ex lætitiâ epulis fatigatos, quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari: Cur enim illos, qui se arcessant, ipsos non venire, quum æque conjungi possent? quia videlicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent: et, aliorum, quam sua, corpora tanto periculo mallent objicere. Aliis non tam sententia displicere, quam animus deesse. P. Sempronius Tuditanus, tribunus militum, "Capi ergo mavultis," inquit "ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste, æstimarique capita vestra, et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus, Romanus civis sis, an Latinus socius,³ ut ex tuâ contumeliâ et miserâ alteri honos quærat? non tu:⁴ siquidem L. Æmillii consulis, qui se bene mori, quam turpiter vivere, maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum, qui circa eum cumlati jacent, cives estis. Sed ante, quam opprimit lux, majoraque hostium agmina obsepiunt iter, per hos, qui inordinati atque incompressi obstrepunt portis, erumpamus. Ferro atque audaciâ via fit, quamvis per confertos hostes. cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet, transibimus. Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos, et rempublicam salvam vultis." Hæc ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium, cuneoque facto per medios

¹ *Alterius mor... fuit.* "Almost the entire army followed or accompanied the dying Æmilius," i.e. died with him.

² *Mittunt.* Sc. to those in the smaller camp.

³ *Romanus civis sis, an Lat. soc.* Hannibal's policy was always to liberate without ransom those who were not full citizens, so as to detach them

from their alliance with Rome. Cf. his conduct after the battle of Trasimenus. "Captivorum qui Latini nominis essent, sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis." Cap. VII. See also cap. LVIII.

⁴ *Non tu.* By using the singular pronoun he rouses the courage of each individual, more than by addressing them as a body.

vadit hostes. et, quum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidæ jacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis, in majora castra ad sexcentos evaserunt: atque inde protinus, alio magno agmine adjuncto, Canusium incolumes perveniunt. Hæc apud victos magis impetu animorum, quem ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum, aut imperio cujusquam, agebantur.

LI. Hannibali victori quum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur, suaderentque, ut, tanto perfunctus bello, diei quod reliquum esset,¹ noctisque insequentis, quietem et ipse sibi sumeret, et fessis daret militibus; Maharbal, præfectus equitum, minime cessandum ratus, "Imo, ut, quid hâc pugna sit actum scias, die quinto," inquit, "victor in Capitolio epulaberis. sequere: cum equite, ut prius venisse, quam venturum, sciant, præcedam." Hannibali nimis læta res est visa, majorque,² quam ut eam statim capere animo posset. Itaque, voluntatem se laudare Maharbalis, ait: ad consilium pensandum temporis opus esse.³ Tum Maharbal, "Non omnia, nimirum, eidem dii dedere. vincere scis, Hannibal; victoriâ uti nescis." Mora ejus diei satis creditur saluti fuisse urbi atque imperio. Postero die, ubi primum illuxit, ad spolia legenda, fœdamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem, insistunt: jacebant tot Romanorum millia, pedites passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna junxerat, aut fugâ. Assurgentes quidam ex strage mediâ cruenti, quos

¹ *Diei quod reliquum esset.* This may be explained, *Diei* hujus, per id spatium quod reliquum esset. *Drakenb.*

² *Nimis læta....majorque.* This of course is merely Roman vanity. Hannibal's real reason was no doubt to secure the revolt of the Roman allies by his presence among them, as he well knew that so long as her allies remained

unshaken in their fidelity, Rome would bid defiance to his utmost efforts.

³ *Ad cons. pens. temp. opus esse.* "There are moments when rashness is wisdom; and it may be that this was one of them. The statue of the goddess Victory in the Capitol may well have trembled in every limb on that day, and have dropped her wings, as if for ever." *Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 144.

stricta matutino frigore excitaverant vulnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt. Quosdam et jacentes vivos succisis feminibus poplitibusque¹ invenerunt, nudantes cervicem jugulumque, et reliquum sanguinem jubentes haurire. Inventi sunt quidam mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi ipsos fecisse foveas, obruentesque ora superjectâ humo interclusisse spiritum, apparebat. Præcipue convertit omnes substratus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano vivus, naso auri-busque laceratis: quum, manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem irâ versus,² laniando dentibus hostem exspirâsset.

LII. Spoliis ad multum diei lectis, Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda, et, omnium primum, brachio objecto,³ flumine eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus, labore, vigiliis, vulneribus etiam, fessis, maturior ipsius spe deditio est facta. pacti, ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecenis nummis quadrigatis,⁴ in socios ducentis, in servos centenis, et ut, eo pretio persoluto, cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt; traditique in custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea quum ex majoribus castris, quibus satis virium aut animi fuit, ad quatuor millia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine, alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eâdem conditione, quâ altera, tradita hosti. Præda ingens parta est: et, præter equos virosque, et si quid argenti, (quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat; nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo,⁵ utique

¹ *Succisis fem. poplit.* This had been done by the Numidians, cf. cap. XLVIII.

² *Versus.* Sc. Romanus.

³ *Brachio objecto.* "By digging a ditch between the camp and the river."

⁴ *Quadrigatis.* A denarius on which the representation of a *quadriga*, or chariot with four horses, was stamped, was called a *quadrigatus*. So also there were *bigati*.

⁵ *Nam ad vescend. facto perexiguo.*

militantes, utebantur) omnis cetera præda diripienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causâ conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit. Ad octo millia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum sepultumque, quidam auctores sunt. Eos, qui Canusium perfugerant, mulier ¹Apula, nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, mœnibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento, veste, viatico etiam juvit; pro quâ ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt.

LIII. Ceterum, quum ibi tribuni militum quatuor essent, Fabius Maximus de legione primâ, cujus pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secundâ L. Publicius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio,² et de legione tertiâ Ap. Claudius Pulcher, qui proxime ædilis fuerat; omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem, admodum adolescentem, et ad Ap. Claudium summa imperii delata est. quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summâ rerum, nunciat P. Furius Philus, consularis viri filius, nequicquam eos perditam spem fovere; desperatam comploratamque rem esse publicam: nobiles juvenes quosdam, quorum principem L. Cæcilius Metellum, mare ac naves spectare, ut, desertâ Italiâ, ad regem aliquem transfugiant. Quod malum, præterquam atrox, super tot clades etiam novum, quum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset, et, qui aderant, consilium advocandum de eo censerent; negat consilii rem esse³ Scipio juvenis, fatalis dux hujusce belli. Audendum atque agendum, non consultandum, ait, in tanto malo esse.

"Parum enim habebant argenti facti, argenti elaborati, quo ad vescendum uterentur." *Drakenb.*

¹ *Mulier Apula.* The old reading was *Paula*. Cf. cap. LIV. *Certatumque, ne a muliere Canusinâ populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur.*

² *P. Cornelius Scipio.* He was the son

of P. Cornelius Scipio who was consul in the year that Hannibal crossed the Alps. He would now be scarcely twenty years of age, but the spirit he displayed at this crisis was an earnest of what the future conqueror at Zama could do.

³ *Consilii rem esse.* "Was a matter requiring deliberation."

irent secum extemplo armati, qui rempublicam salvam vellent: nullo verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur, hostium castra esse. Pergit ire, sequentibus paucis, in hōspitium Metelli. et, quum concilium ibi juvenum, de quibus allatum erat, invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio, "Ex mei animi sententiā,"¹ inquit, "ut ego rempublicam populi Romani non deseram, neque alium civem Romanum deserere patiar. Si sciens fallo, tum me, Jupiter² Optime Maxime, domum, familiam, remque meam, pessimo leto afficias! In hæc verba, L. Caecili, jures, postulo, ceterique, qui adestis: qui non juraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat." Haud secus pavidī, quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, jurant omnes: custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

LIV. Eo tempore, quo hæc Canusii agebantur, Venusiam ad consulem ad quatuor millia peditum equitumque, qui sparsi fugā per agros fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque quum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas³ et quadrigatos⁴ nummos quinos vicanos, et peditibus denos, et arma, quibus deerant, dederunt. ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta: certatumque, ne a muliere Canusinā⁵ populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur. Sed gravius onus Busæ multitudo faciebat, et jam ad decem millia hominum erant. Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuncium extemplo

¹ *Ex mei an. sent.* "To the best of my knowledge and belief." "On my conscience." It was the usual formula of an oath. We must understand some such expression as *Precor ita me dii juvent, ament, ut ego remp.*

² *Tum me, Jupit.* Gronovius suggests that we ought to read *Tu me, Jupit.*

³ *Togas et tunicas.* The latter were close fitting under garments over which the loose flowing *togas* were worn. As the *toga* was usually laid aside in war, *togatus* is generally opposed to *armatus*. But here the *togas* were most probably used for cloaks or blankets.

⁴ *Quadrigatos.* Cf. note cap. LII.

⁵ *Muliere Canus.* Cf. cap. LII. fin.



mittunt, quantæ¹ secum peditum equitumque copiarum essent : sciscitatumque simul, utrum Venusiam adduci exercitum, an manere juberet Canusii.² Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit, et jam aliqua species consularis exercitus erat ; mœnibusque se certe, si non armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri. Romam, ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occisione occisos cum duobus exercitibus consules,³ deletasque omnes copias, allatum fuerat. Nunquam, salvâ urbe, tantum pavoris tumultusque intra mœnia Romana fuit. itaque succumbam oneri, neque aggrediar narrare, quæ edissertando minora vero⁴ fecero. Consule exercituque ad Trasimenum priore anno amisso, non vulnus super vulnus, sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo consulares exercitus amissi nunciabantur : nec ulla jam castra Romana, nec ducem, nec militem esse : Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium, ac jam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto alia gens tantâ mole cladis non obruta esset. Comparem cladem ad Ægates insulas⁵ Karthaginiensium, prælio navali acceptam, quâ fracti, Siciliâ ac Sardinia cessere, hinc vectigales ac stipendiarios⁶ fieri se passi sunt? aut pugnam adversam⁷ in Africâ, cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit? nullâ ex parte comparandæ sunt, nisi quod minore animo latæ sunt.

LV. P. Furius Philus et M'. Pomponius, prætores, senatum in curiam Hostiliam⁸ vocaverunt, ut de urbis

¹ *Mittunt quanta.* We must understand some such word as *rogatum*, "to ask."

² *Canusii.* This is properly the locative case; but as its form resembles the genitive, it is often confounded with it.

³ *Occisione. consules.* Perhaps we ought to read *occisione occisum cum duobus consulibus exercitum*, as the expression *occid. occis.* seems more appli-

cable to a number of men than to two consuls.

⁴ *Minora vero.* "Less than the reality." *Vero* is the abl. of *verum*.

⁵ *Cladem ad Ægat. insul.* Cf. note on *C. Lutatius*, cap. XIV.

⁶ *Vectig. ac stipend.* "Tributaries in kind and in money."

⁷ *Pugnam adversam*, i. e. at Zama, fought in B.C. 202.

⁸ *Cur. Hostil.* "Tullus Hostilius,

custodiâ consulerent. neque enim dubitabant, deletis exercitibus, hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Quum in malis, sicut ingentibus, ita ignotis, ne consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum, et, nondum palam facto, vivi mortuique per omnes pæne domos promiscue complorarentur; tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit, equites expeditos et Appiâ et Latinâ viâ mittendos, qui obvios percunctando aliquos profectos ex fugâ, passim dissipatos, forte referant, quæ fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit: et, si quid dii immortales, miseriti imperii, reliquum Romano nomini fecerint, ubi eæ copiæ sint: quo se Hannibal post prælium contulerit: quid paret, quid agat, acturusque sit. Hæc exploranda noscendaque per impigros juvenes esse. Illud per Patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant, continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant: comploratus familiarum coërceant: silentium per urbem faciant: nuncios rerum omnium ad prætores deducendos curent: suæ quisque fortunæ domi auctorem exspectent:¹ custodesque præterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbem:² cogantque homines nullam, nisi urbe ac mœnibus salvis, salutem sperare. Ubi

after the capture of Alba Longa, adorned the forum with a curia or senate-house, which was called after him the Curia Hostilia, and continued almost down to the imperial times to be the most usual place for holding assemblies of the Senate. . . . The Curia Hostilia, which from its pre-eminence is generally called simply Curia, must have adjoined the eastern side of the Vulcanal. Niebuhr was the first who indicated that it must have stood on the N. side of the forum." *Smith's Dict. Geog. Art. Rome.*

¹ *Suæ quisque fort. dom. auct. expect.* "The forum was cleared, and the assemblies of the people suspended: for at such a moment, had any one tribune uttered the word "peace," the tribes would have caught it up with eagerness, and obliged the senate to negotiate." *Arnold. Hist. Rom. III. 148.*

² *Egredi urbem.* This construction is usual in the historians, but is not found in Cicero. Cf. *Liv. I. 29, Egressis urbem Albanis*, and *III. 57, Priusquam urbem egrederentur.*

conticuerit tumultus, recte tum in curiam Patres revocandos, consulendumque de urbis custodiâ esse.

LVI. Quum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes îssent,¹ summotâque foro per magistratus turbâ, Patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent; tum demum literæ a Terentio consule allatæ sunt, L. Æmilium consulem exercitumque cæsum; sese Canusii esse, reliquias tantæ cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem. ad decem millia militum ferme esse, incompositorum, inordinatorumque. Pœnum sedere ad Cannas, in captivorum pretiis prædâque aliâ, nec victoris animo, nec magni ducis more, nundinantem.² Tum privatæ quoque per domos clades vulgatæ sunt: adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus, ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris³ intermissum sit; quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas, nec ullâ in illâ tempestate matrona expers luctûs fuerat. Itaque, ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatusconsulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus. Ceterum quum, sedato urbis tumultu, revocati in curiam Patres essent, aliæ insuper ex Siciliâ literæ allatæ sunt ab T. Otacilio proprætore, regnum Hieronis⁴ classe Punicâ vastari: cui quum opem imploranti⁵ ferre vellet, nunciatum sibi esse, aliam classem ad Ægates insulas stare, paratam instructamque; ut, ubi se versum ad tuendam Syracusanam oram Pœni sensissent, Lilybæum⁶ extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam aggre-

¹ *Quum in hanc...îssent.* "When all had adopted this opinion." The expression *pedibus ire* seems to have arisen from the stamping of the feet in token of approbation, or of walking across the senate-house to vote on one side or the other. *Îssent* is for *ivissent*, the plur. perf. conj. from *eo*.

² *Nundinantem.* *Nundinor* properly means to attend or hold *nundinæ*, or

markets. *Nundinæ*, contracted from *novem-dies*, literally means "the ninth day," i. e. "the market day."

³ *Anniv. Cereris.* It was now the month of August, after the harvest.

⁴ *Regnum Hieronis.* Cf. note cap. XXXVII. init.

⁵ *Imploranti.* So *Hieronis*: *Sibi* refers to T. Otacilius himself.

⁶ *Lilybæum.* Cf. note cap.

derentur. itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

LVII. Literis consulis proprætorisque lectis, M. Claudium,¹ qui classi ad Ostiam stanti præesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum, scribendumque consuli, ut, quum prætori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum reipublicæ fieri posset, Romam veniret. Territi etiam super tantas clades, quum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duæ Vestales² eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertæ; et altera sub terrâ, ut mos est, ad portam Collinam³ necata fuerat, altera sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat. L. Cantilius, scribe pontificis, quos nunc minores pontifices⁴ appellant, qui cum Floroniâ stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio cæsus erat, ut inter verbera expiraret. Hoc nefas quum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri libros⁵ adire jussi sunt. Et Q. Fabius Pictor⁶ Delphos ad oraculum missus est, sciscitatum,⁷ quibus precibus suppliciiisque⁸ deos possent placare, et quænam futura finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter quæ Gallus et Galla, Græcus et Græca, in foro boario sub terrâ vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo conceptum, jam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum. Placatis satis, ut rebantur, deis,

¹ *M. Claudium.* We must understand *Censuerunt patres*, or *decreverunt*.

² *Vestales.* The virgin priestesses of Vesta, who ministered in her temple and watched the eternal fire. They are generally supposed to have been established in Rome by Numa, who brought them from Alba Longa. They were six in number, and the greatest importance was attached to their vow of chastity, the violation of which was punished with the most revolting cruelties.

³ *Port. Collinam.* This was a gate on the east side of Rome, near the Quirinal Hill.

⁴ *Quos nunc minores pont.* This may either be for *Ex eorum scribarum numero, quos nunc minores pontifices appellant*; or, referring *quos* to *pontificis*, and not to *scriba*.

⁵ *Libros.* Cf. note, cap. ix.

⁶ *Q. Fabius Pictor.* Cf. note, cap. vii.

⁷ *Sciscitatum.* The active supine from *Sciscitor*.

⁸ *Supplicis.* For *supplicationibus*.

M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostiâ mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi præsidio essent, mittit; ipse, legione classis (ea tertia legio erat,) cum tribunis militum Teanum Sidicinum¹ præmissâ, classe traditâ P. Furio Philo collegæ, paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus² contendit. Dictator ex auctoritate Patrum dictus, M. Junius, et Ti. Sempronius magister equitum, delectu edicto, juniores ab annis septemdecim, et quosdam prætextatos,³ scribunt. quatuor ex his legiones, et mille equites effecti. Item ad socios Latinumque nomen,⁴ ad milites ex formulâ accipiendos, mittunt. arma, tela, alia, parari jubent: et vetera hostium spolia detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et aliam formam novi delectûs inopia liberorum capitum, ac necessitas dedit: octo millia juvenum validorum ex servitiis, prius sciscitantes singulos, vellentne militare,⁵ emptâ publice, armaverunt. Hic miles magis placuit, quum pretio minore redimendi captivos copia fieret.

LVIII. Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam, victoris magis, quam bellum gerentis, intentus curis,⁶ quum, captivis productis segregatisque, socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam Trasimenumque lacum, benigne allocutus, sine pretio dimisisset; Romanos quoque

¹ *Teanum Sidic.* Cf. note, cap.

² *Magnis itineribus.* "Forced marches," by making each day's journey as long as possible.

³ *Prætextatos.* "Until a Roman youth assumed the toga virilis, he wore the toga prætexta, the broad purple hem of which (*prætexta*) at once distinguished him from other persons." *Smith's Dict. Antiq. Art. Impubes.* The age of fourteen seems to have been the time when they assumed the toga virilis.

⁴ *Latinumque nomen.* Cf. note, cap. VII.

⁵ *Vellentne militare.* Roman citizens were simply summoned to attend, and answer to their names, their wishes being utterly disregarded.

⁶ *Victoris magis. intentus curis.* "As a general, his (sc. Hannibal) conduct remains uncharged with a single error; for the idle censure which Livy presumes to pass on him for not marching to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, is founded on such mere ignorance, that it does not deserve any serious notice." *Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 468.

vocatos (quod nunquam alias antea) satis miti sermone alloquitur: non internecinum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum: de dignitate atque imperio certare. Et patres virtuti Romanæ cessisse: et se id adniti, ut suæ invicem simul felicitati et virtuti cedatur. Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere. pretium fore in capita, equiti quingenos quadrigatos¹ nummos. trecenos pediti, servo centum. Quamquam aliquantum adjiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium, quod pepigerant² dedentes se; læti tamen quamcunque conditionem paciscendi acceperunt. Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi, qui Romam ad senatum irent. nec pignus aliud fidei, quam ut jurarent se redituros, acceptum. Missus cum his Karthalo, nobilis Karthaginienensis; qui, si forte ad pacem inclinarent animos, conditiones ferret. Quum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, velut aliquid oblitus,³ jurisjurandi solvendi causâ⁴ quum in castra redisset, ante noctem comites assequitur. Ubi eos Romam venire nunciatum est, Karthaloni obviam lictor missus, qui dictatoris verbis nunciaret, ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

LIX. Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est. Quorum princeps M. Junius, "Patres conscripti,"⁵ inquit, "nemo nostrum ignorat, nulli unquam civitati viliores fuisse captivos,⁶ quam nostræ. Ceterum, nisi

¹ *Quadrigatos.* Cf. note, cap. LII.

² *Id pretium quod pepig.* Three hundred denarii each was the sum originally fixed for all. Cf. cap. LII.

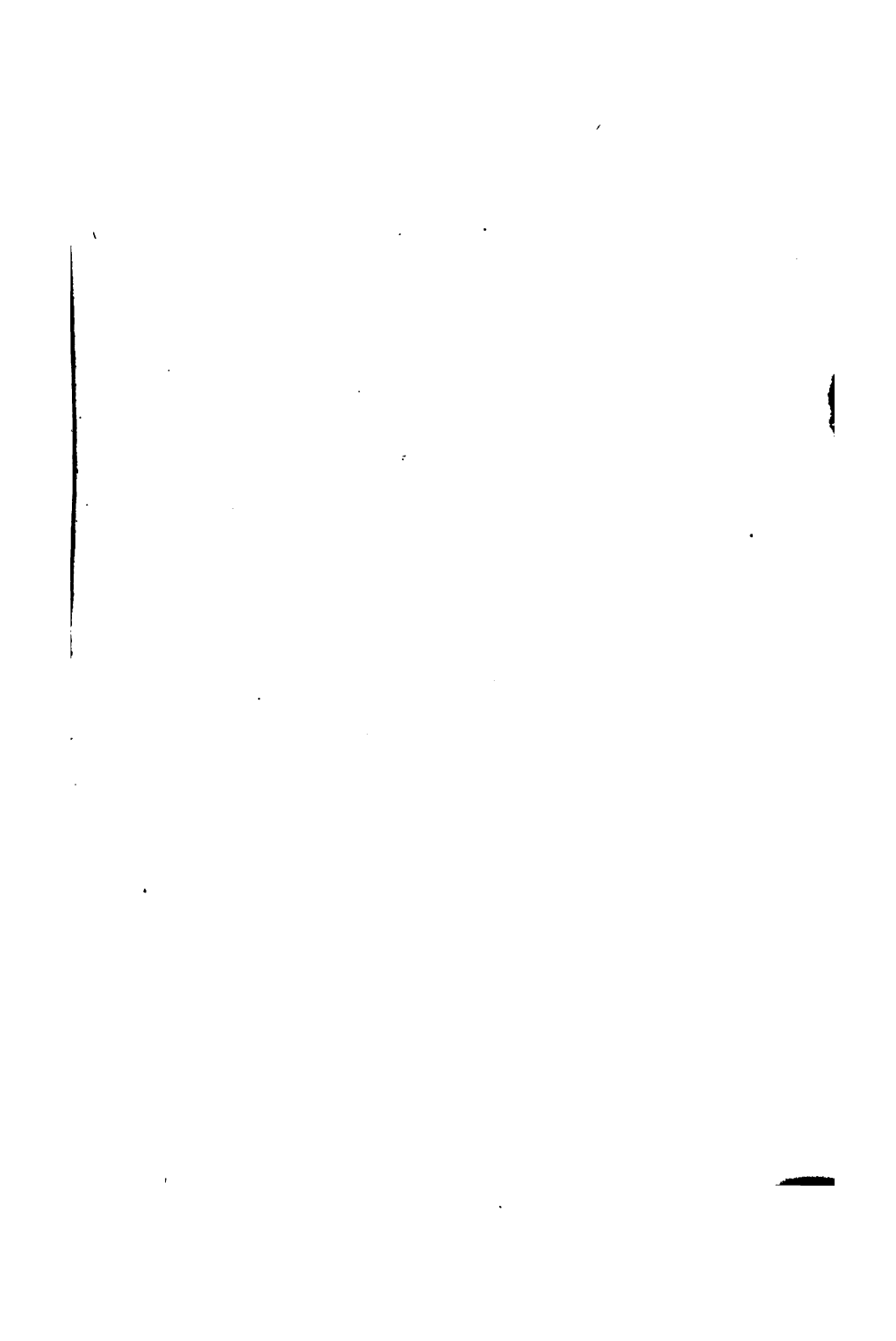
³ *Oblitus.* The perf. part. of *obliviscor*. *Oblitus*, with the short *i*, is the perf. part. of *oblino* = to smear over.

⁴ *Jurisy. solv. causâ.* He had taken an oath to return to Hannibal's camp.

⁵ *Patres conscripti.* Owing to the cruelties of the last king of Rome, the number of senators became much

diminished. The vacancies which had thus arisen were filled up at the beginning of the republic from the noble plebeians of equestrian rank: these new senators were called *conscripti*. Hence the customary mode of addressing the senate henceforth always was: *Patres conscripti*, that is, *Patres et conscripti*.

⁶ *Nulli captivos.* Cf. cap. I.XI. *Exemplum civitatis minime in captivos jam inde antiquitus indulgentis.*



nobis plus justo nostra placet causa, non alii unquam minus negligendi vobis, quam nos, in hostium potestatem venerunt. non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus; sed, quum prope ad noctem, superstantes cumulis cæsorū corporum, prælium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos. Diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem, fessi labore ac vulneribus, vallum sumus tutati. Postero die, quum, circumsessi ab exercitu victore, aquâ arceremur, nec ulla jam per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus, quinquaginta millibus hominum ex acie nostrâ trucidatis, aliquem ex Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare; tum demum pacti sumus pretium, quo redempti, dimitteremur: arma, in quibus nihil jam auxilii erat, hosti tradidimus. Majores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis¹ auro redemisse: et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad conditionem pacis, legatos tamen captivorum redimendorum gratiâ Tarentum misisse.² atqui, et ad Alliam³ cum Gallis, et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho, utraque non tam clade infamis, quam pavore ac fugâ, pugna fuit. Cannenses campos acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt: nec supersumus pugnae, nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem defecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam, qui ne in acie quidem refugerunt: sed, præsidio castris relictis, quum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium venerunt. Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunæ aut conditioni invideo, nec premendo alium me

¹ *A Gallis auro redemisse.* On the capture of Rome, B.C. 390, the Gauls agreed to retire upon receiving 1,000 pounds weight of gold.

² *Legatos.... Tarentum misisse.* This refers to the famous embassy of C. Fabricius in the winter after the battle of Heraclea, near the river Siris, in which Pyrrhus completely defeated the

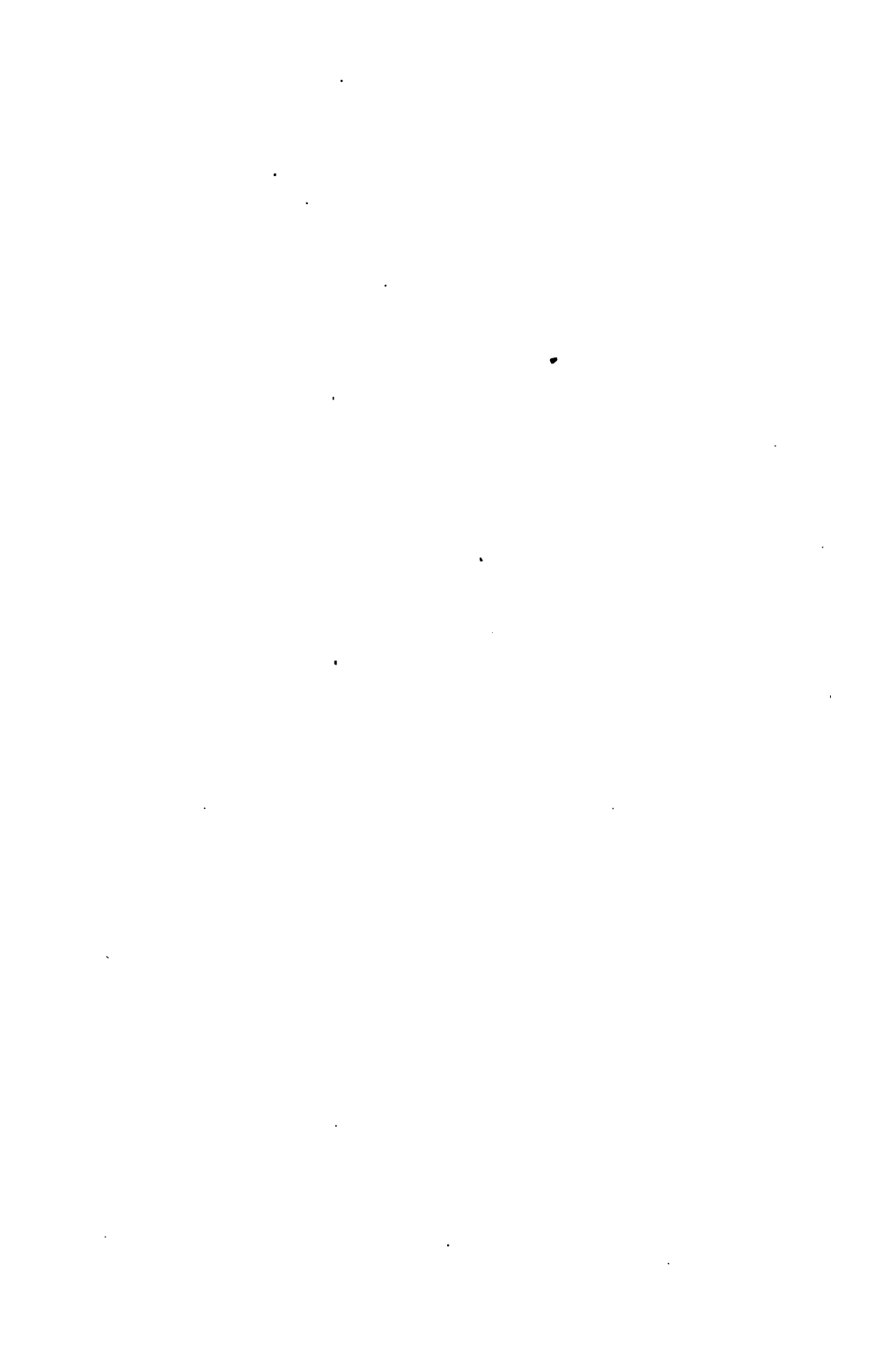
Romans. Pyrrhus so admired the lofty bearing of Fabricius that he gave all his prisoners permission to return home to enjoy the Saturnalia in December. The senate, deaf to all overtures of peace, ordered every man under penalty of death to return to Tarentum by the appointed day.

³ *Ad Alliam.* Cf. note, cap. I. init.

extulisse velim: ne illi quidem, (nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursûs aliquod præmium est) qui, plerique inermes ex acie fugientes, non prius, quam Venusiæ aut Canusii, constituerunt, se nobis merito prætulerint, gloriatique sint, in se plus quam in nobis, præsidii reipublicæ esse. Sed illis et bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini; et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patriâ, quod beneficio vestro redempti atque in patriam restituti fuerimus. Delectum ex omni ætate et fortunâ habetis: octo millia servorum audio armari: non minor numerus noster est, nec majore pretio redimi possumus, quam hi emuntur. nam, si conferam nos cum illis, injuriam nomini Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, Patres conscripti, (si tamen duriores esse velitis, quod nullo nostro merito faciatis) cui nos hosti relicturi sitis: Pyrrho videlicet,¹ qui nos hospitum numero habuit captivos, an barbaro ac Pæno; qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit, vix existimari potest. Si videatis catenas, squalorem, deformitatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea species moveat, quam si ex alterâ parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones vestras. Intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiæ stantium cognatorum nostrorum, expectantiumque responsum vestrum. quum ii pro nobis, proque iis, qui absunt, ita suspensi ac solliciti sint; quem censetis animum ipsorum esse, quorum in discrimine vita libertasque est? Si, me *Dius Fidius*,² ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vitâ opus esse censeamus, quum indigni, ut a vobis redimeremur, visi sumus. Rediere Romam quondam, remissi a Pyrrho

¹ *Videlicet*. Contracted from *videre-licet*, (as *scilicet* from *scire-licet*). "Clearly," "plainly," "for instance."

² *Me Dius Fidius*. The full expression is, *Ita me Dius (Διός) filius* (i. e. Hercules) *jurot*. *Filius* became changed into *fidius*.



sine pretio, capti: sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis. redeam ego in patriam, trecentis nummis non aestimatus civis? Suum quisque habet animum, Patres conscripti. Scio in discrimine esse vitam corpusque meum. Magis me famæ periculum movet, ne a vobis damnati ac repulsi abeamus. neque enim vos pretio pepercisse¹ homines credent."

LX. Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab eâ turbâ, quæ in comitio erat, clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant, orantes, ut sibi liberos, fratres, cognatos, redderent. Feminas quoque metus, ac necessitas,² in foro turbæ huic virorum immiscuerat. Senatus, summotis arbitris,³ consuli cœptus. Ibi quum sententiis variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice impensam faciendam, nec prohibendos ex privato redimi; si quibus argentum in præsentia deesset, dandam ex ærario pecuniam mutuam, prædibusque ac prædiis cavendum populo, censerent: tum T. Manlius Torquatus,⁴ priscæ ac nimis duræ, ut plerisque videbatur, severitatis, interrogatus sententiam, ita locutus fertur: "Si tantummodo postulâssent legati pro iis, qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum, brevi sententiam peregissem. Quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus, necessario ad rem militarem exemplo, servaretis? Nunc autem, quum prope gloriati sint, quod se hostibus

¹ *Pepercisse*. The perf. infin. from *parco*.

² *Necessitas*. "The ties of kin."

³ *Arbitris*. *Arbiter* from *ar-beto* = *ad-eo*, originally meant one who goes to see something, "a spectator," "eye-witness." Hence "*strangers*" in the senate were called *arbitri*.

⁴ *T. Manlius Torquatus*. He was

descended from the famous T. Manlius Torquatus who slew a gigantic Gaul on the bridge over the Anio, B.C. 361. From the neck of his enemy he took the massy chain (*torques*) which the Gaulish chiefs used to wear, and hence derived his name (*Torquatus*). The T. Manlius here mentioned afterwards won great renown from his conquest of Sardinia.

dediderint, præferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed etiam iis, qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervenerunt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli, æquum censuerint; nihil vos eorum, Patres conscripti, quæ illic acta sunt, ignorare patiar. Atque utinam hæc, quæ apud vos acturus sum, Canusii apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviæ cujusque et virtutis: aut unus hîc saltem adeasset P. Sempronius, quem si isti¹ ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium potestate, essent. Sed, quum, fessis pugnando hostibus, tum victoriâ lætis, et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem armatorum hominum millia perrumpere etiam confertos hostes potuissent; neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt, neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope totâ P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegeret, se ducem sequerentur; ante lucem pervenire in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes, posse. Sicut avorum² memoriâ P. Decius,³ tribunus militum, in Samnio; sicut, nobis adolescentibus, priore Punico bello Calpurnius Flamma trecentis voluntariis, quum ad tumultum eos capiendum, situm inter medios hostes, duceret, dixit: *Moriamur, milites, et morte nostrâ eripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones*: si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros quidem nec Romanos vos duceret, si nemo tantæ virtutis exstisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam

¹ *Isti*. "These fellows," a contemptuous expression.

² *Sicut avor. mem. . . si hoc P. Sempr. dic.* "Si, quemadmodum P. Decius, quemadmodum Calpurnius Flamma . . . dixit: *Moriamur milites . . . sic et P. Sempronius hoc idem vobis diceret.*" *Drakenb.*

³ *P. Decius*. He was military tribune B.C. 343, during the first Samnite War. The consul Au. Cornelius Cossus was entangled in a Samnite defile, and shut in by the enemy on all sides. He was relieved by the courageous conduct of P. Decius Mus, who gallantly seized an eminence commanding the pass, and the consul was thus freed from danger.



magis, quam ad salutem, ferentem demonstrat; reduces in patriam, ad parentes, ad conjuges ac liberos, facit. Ut servemini deest vobis animus? quid, si moriendum pro patriâ esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta millia civium sociorumque circa vos, eo ipso die cæsa, jacent. si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil unquam movebit: si tanta clades vilem vitam non fecit, nulla faciet. Liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam: immo desiderate, dum patria¹ est, dum cives ejus estis. sero nunc desideratis, deminuti capite,² abalienati jure civium, servi Karthaginiensium facti. Pretio redituri estis eo, unde ignaviâ ac nequitiâ abistis? P. Sempronium, civem vestrum, non audistis, arma capere ac sequi se jubentem; Hannibalem post paulo audistis, castra prodi et arma tradi jubentem. Quam ego ignaviam istorum accuso, quum scelus possim accusare? non enim modo sequi recusârunt bene monentem, sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertes summovissent. prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium agmen, quam per hostium, fuit erumpendum. Hos cives patria desideret? quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem hodie ex iis, qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem haberet. Ex millibus septem armatorum sexcenti exstiterunt, qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent: neque iis quadraginta millia hostium obstitere. quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie viginti millia armatorum Canusii, fortia, fidelia, Patres

¹ *Desiderate patr.* "Show your affection for your country."

² *Deminuti capite.* "Deprived of political rights." "If a Roman citizen during war came into the possession of an enemy, he sustained a *diminutio capitis maxima*, (i. e. he lost his *libertas*, *civitas*, and *familia*) and all his civil

rights were in abeyance." *Smith's Dict. Antiq.* But he might recover them on returning to his country. So Horace speaking of Regulus says (*Od.* III. 5), "*Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum, Parvosque natos ut capitis minor* Ab se removisse, et virilem Torvus humi posuisse voltum."

conscripti. nunc autem quemadmodum hi boni fidelesque (nam fortes ne ipsi quidem dixerint) cives esse possunt? nisi quis credere potest fuisse,¹ ut erumpentibus, quin erumperent, obsistere conati sunt: aut non invidere eos, quum incolumitati, tum gloriæ illorum, per virtutem partæ, quum sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosæ causam esse sciant. Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem exspectare, quum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. At enim² ad erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda fortiter castra animum habuerunt; dies noctesque aliquot obsessi, vallum armis, se ipsi tutati vallo sunt: tandem, ultima ausi passique, quum omnia subsidia vitæ abessent, affectisque fame viribus arma jam sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis, quam armis, victi sunt. Orto sole hostis ad vallum accessit: ante secundam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac seipsos. Hæc vobis ipsorum per biduum militia fuit. quum in acie stare ac pugnare decuerat, tum in castra refugerunt: quum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles. Vos redimam? quum erumpere castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis: quum manere, castra tutari armis, necesse est, et castra et arma et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, Patres conscripti, censeo, quam illos dedendos Hannibali, qui per medios hostes e castris eruperunt, ac per summam virtutem se patriæ restituerunt.”

LXI. Postquam Manlius dixit, quanquam Patrum

¹ *Nisi quis cred. pot. fuisse ut.* This may be explained, *Nisi quis credere potest fuisse* eos bonos fidelesque cives, *ut*, id est, postquam *obsistere conati sunt erumpentibus*, civibus suis, *quin erumperent.* Gronov.

² *At enim.* “But perhaps I may be told.” Cf. ἀλλὰ γάρ. The words introduce an argument supposed to be brought forward by an opponent.

quoque plerosque captivi cognatione attingebant, præter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos jam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniæ quoque summa homines movit: quia nec ærarium exhaurire, magnâ jam summâ erogatâ¹ in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem, maxime hujusce rei, ut fama erat, egentem, locupletari volebant. Quum triste responsum, non redimi captivos, redditum esset, novusque super veterem luctus tot jacturâ civium adjectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questibusque legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra² jurejurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit, relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt, comprehendendum, et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem, esse. Est et alia de captivis fama,³ decem primos venisse: de eis quum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur in urbem, necne; ita admissos esse, ne tamen iis senatus daretur. Morantibus deinde longius omnium spe, alios tres insuper legatos venisse, L. Scribonium, et C. Calpurnium, et L. Manlium. tum demum ab cognato Scribonii, tribuno plebis, de redimendis captivis relatum esse, nec censuisse redimendos senatum: et novos legatos tres ad Hannibalem revertisse, decem veteres remansisse, quod, per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi, religione sese exsolvisset. de iis dedendis magnâ contentione actum in senatu esse, victosque paucis sententiis, qui dedendos censuerint: ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiiisque confectos esse, ut quidam eorum mortem sibi ipsi

¹ *Erogatâ.* Cf. *note*, cap. XXIII.

² *Reditu in castra.* Cf. cap. LVIII. fin.

³ *Est et alia de cap. fama.* Cf. *Cic. Off.* III. 32. "Acilius autem, qui

Græce scripsit historiam, plures ait fuisse, qui in castra revertissent, eâdem fraude, ut jure jurando liberarentur, eosque a censoribus omnibus ignominie notatos."

extemplo consciverint; ceteri non foro solum omni deinde vitâ, sed prope luce ac publico, caruerint.¹ Mirari magis, adeo discrepare inter auctores, quam, quid veri sit, discernere, queas. Quanto autem major ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, vel ea res indicio est, quod, qui sociorum ad eam diem firmi steterant, tum labare cœperunt, nullâ profecto aliâ de re, quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere autem ad Pœnos hi populi:² Atellani,³ Calatini,⁴ Hirpini,⁵ Apulorum pars, Samnites præter Pentros,⁶ Bruttii⁷ omnes, Lucani:⁸ præter hos Surrentini,⁹ et Græcorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini,¹⁰ Metapontini,¹¹ Crotonienses,¹² Locrique:¹³ et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen hæ clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt, ut pacis unquam

¹ *Caruerint.* "Shunned." "Kept aloof from." The perf. conj. because in orat. obliq.

² *Defecere....hi populi.* Not immediately: some not until a year had passed, and others after a longer period. "The fidelity of the allies of Rome, which had not been shaken by the defeat of Thrasymentus, could not resist the fiery trial of Cannæ. The Apulians joined the conqueror immediately, and Arpi and Salapia opened their gates to him. Bruttium, Lucania, and Samnium were ready to follow the example: and Hannibal was obliged to divide his army, and to send officers into different parts of the country, to receive and protect those who wished to join him, and to organize their forces for effective co-operation in the field." *Arnold, Hist. Rom.* III. 153.

³ *Atellani.* The inhabitants of Atella, an ancient town of the Osci in Campania, on the river Clanius. It was from this town that the *Fabula*, or *Fabellæ Atellana* (a kind of popular comedy), took its name.

⁴ *Calatini.* Calatia was a town in Campania on the Via Appia, not far from Capua.

⁵ *Hirpini.* This people lived in the extreme south of Samnium, between Apulia and Campania.

⁶ *Pentros.* The country of the Pentri was in the northern portion of Samnium.

⁷ *Bruttii.* They lived in the mountainous country which forms the toe as it were of Italy.

⁸ *Lucani.* Lucania lay between Samnium and Apulia on the north, and the country of the Bruttii on the south.

⁹ *Surrentini.* Surrentum was a town on the coast of Campania, nearly opposite the island of Capree.

¹⁰ *Tarentini.* Tarentum stood at the head of the gulf of the same name, on the Via Appia.

¹¹ *Metapontini.* Metapontum was also a town on the gulf of Tarentum.

¹² *Crotonienses.* Croton was a town on the east coast of the country of the Bruttii. Both Croton and its great rival Sybaris were of Achæan origin, and founded about B.C. 700. Sybaris was at length completely annihilated by its more powerful rival, but Croton seems to have gradually decayed after its victory. It was here that Pythagoras settled.

¹³ *Locrique.* Locri, called Epizephy-

mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum, nec postquam is rediit, renovavitque memoriam acceptæ cladis. quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut consuli, ex tantâ clade, cujus ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti, et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit, et gratiæ actæ, quod de republicâ non desperâsset: cui, si Karthaginensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.¹

rian from the neighbourhood of Cape Zephyrium, at the south-east end of the country of the Brutti, was founded about B.C. 680, by a party from the old Greek town of Locri.

¹ *Nihil rec. supp. foret.* The Carthaginians used to crucify not only their unsuccessful generals, but even those who had succeeded without adopting proper measures or precautions.

LIVY. BOOK XXII.

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I. SPRING was already coming on when Hannibal left his winter quarters, after having previously attempted, in vain, owing to the intolerable cold, to cross the Apennines, and because he saw his stay was attended with great danger and alarm. The Gauls, who had been gathered together by the hope of booty and spoil, when they saw that instead of themselves plundering and pillaging the land of others, their own was made the seat of war, and was distressed by the winter quarters of the armies of either party, changed in turn their hatred from the Romans against Hannibal; and though he was often aimed at by the plots of the chieftains, yet by their treachery among themselves, plotting and betraying their plots with the same fickleness, he was preserved, and by changing at one time his dress, at another the fashion of his hair, he had further defended himself from conspiracies by misguiding them. However, this fear was an additional motive to him for moving so easily from his winter quarters. About the same time Cn. Servilius, the consul, entered office at Rome, on the ides of March. There when he had brought before the Senate the state of public affairs, the indignation against C. Flaminius broke out afresh. "They had elected two consuls, but had only one: for what legitimate authority either military or for taking the auspices had Flaminius? This the magistrates took with them from home, from public and private houses, after the celebration of the Latin holidays, after the completion of the sacrifice on the Alban mount, and their vows being duly offered up in the Capitol: nor could he, a private individual, take the auspices, nor after having left without the power of auspices renew and take them up afresh on a foreign

soil." Their alarm was increased by prodigies announced from many places simultaneously: in Sicily certain darts belonging to the soldiers,—but in Sardinia a cavalry soldier's staff, which he held in his hand, as he was going his rounds on the wall had become red-hot; the shores had blazed with fires in many places; two shields had sweated with blood: some soldiers had been struck with lightning, and the disc of the sun appeared eclipsed. Again at Præneste blazing stones had fallen from the sky; at Arpi shields had been seen in the heavens, and the sun fighting with the moon: at Capena two moons arose in the middle of the day, and the waters at Cære had flowed mingled with blood, and the very spring of Hercules had bubbled up chequered with gout of gore: at Antium, while certain men were reaping, ears of corn had fallen stained with blood into a basket; and at Falerii, the heavens appeared cleft as with a huge opening, and where it opened a light of surpassing splendour blazed forth: the oracular tablets had spontaneously become shrivelled, and one had fallen out thus inscribed—"Mars shakes his weapon." About the same time, at Rome too, the statue of Mars, on the Appian way, at the Figures of the Wolves, had sweated: and at Capua, the phenomenon was seen of a sky red hot, and the moon falling in a shower. After these events, credit was given to prodigies even too trivial to relate: some persons' goats had borne wool: a hen had changed herself into a cock, and a cock into a hen. These prodigies having been detailed as they had been stated, and witnesses of them having been introduced into the Senate-house, the consul took the sense of the Fathers as to the ceremonials to be observed. It was decreed that those prodigies should be provided against partly by full-grown and partly by sucking victims, and that a supplication should be made for a space of three days at every shrine: as regards the other prodigies some such arrangements should be made as the decemvirs, after they had inspected the books, should declare were agreeable to the divine oracles. By the advice of the decemviri it was decreed that first a golden thunderbolt, of fifty pounds' weight, should be made as an offering to Jupiter: that presents of silver should be made to Juno and Minerva, and that to Juno Regina on the Aventine, and to Juno Sospita at Lanuvium, sacrifices of full-grown victims should be offered; that the matrons, contributing as much money as might be convenient for each,

should carry it to the Aventine as a gift to Juno Regina, and that a lectisternium should be celebrated. Moreover, that the very freedwomen should contribute money according to their means, from which a present might be made to Feronia. When this was done the decemviri offered a sacrifice of full-grown victims in the forum at Ardea; lastly, even so late as the month of December, a sacrifice was made at Rome at the temple of Saturnus, and a lectisternium ordered, in which senators prepared the couch, and a public banquet. In the city Saturnalia were proclaimed for a day and a night, and the people were commanded to hold that day a festival, and to observe it for ever.

II. While the consul employed himself at Rome in appeasing the gods and enrolling recruits, Hannibal, having left his winter quarters, because it was reported that the consul Flaminius had already arrived at Arretium, although another road longer but more convenient was pointed out to him, proceeded by a shorter route through a marsh, where the river Arnus at that season was more than usually flooded. The Spaniards and Africans, the main strength of his veterans, were ordered to lead, their own baggage being intermixed with them, lest when obliged to halt anywhere they should want what was necessary for their use: the Gauls he ordered to follow them so as to form the middle of the line of march, the cavalry to march last of all. Behind them Mago, with his light-armed Numidians, was to bring up the rear, more especially to keep the Gauls in their ranks, if fatigued with the wearisomeness of their toils and the length of the march, (as that nation soon gives way under such exertions,) they fell out or halted. The first division, wherever their generals chose to lead them, followed the standards through the channels of the river, all covered with water and deep, almost smothered as they were with mud and sinking at every step. The Gauls could neither maintain their footing when they slipt, nor rise out of the channels; their spirits were unable to sustain their bodily strength, or their hopes to support their spirits; some with difficulty dragging on their wearied limbs, others, where they had once fallen down, their spirits overcome by fatigue, dying amid the cattle which likewise lay in all directions. And nothing distressed them so much as the want of sleep which they had now endured for four days and three nights. When, as the water covered every place, not a spot could be found where they could

lay their wearied bodies on dry ground, they piled their baggage on the water and lay upon it: while the heaps formed by the beasts that were lying along the whole route afforded a substitute for a bed, to those who sought but a spot above the water to enjoy a short hour's repose. Hannibal himself, who from the first had been attacked with ophthalmia, owing to the unseasonable alternations of heat and cold produced by the early spring, rode on an elephant, the only one that survived, that he might be a little higher above the water: yet from watching and the wet nights, and the marshy atmosphere disordering his head, and because neither place nor time afforded the appliances for curing his disease, he lost one of his eyes.

III. After losing a large number of men and beasts by this hideous death, when at length he had emerged from the marshes, Hannibal pitched his camp as soon as he could do so on a dry spot, and ascertained, through the scouts sent in advance, that the Roman army was encamped round the walls of Arretium. He then, by investigating every point with the greatest care, followed out the plans and feelings of the consul, the geography of the country, roads, resources for obtaining provisions, and other matters which were his business to know. That country was among the most fertile of Italy,—the plains of Etruria, which lie between Fæsulæ and Arretium, rich in abundance of corn and cattle, and every requisite. The consul was inspirited by the remembrance of his former consulship, and felt no proper degree of reverence, either for the laws and the majesty of the fathers, or even for the gods: this rashness, which formed an ingredient in his character, fortune had still further strengthened by the successes of his political and military career: thus it was quite clear that a man who listened to the advice neither of gods nor men, would conduct himself in every thing with ferocity and undue precipitation. And that he might be the more inclined towards his natural vices the Carthaginian prepared to vex and irritate him: and leaving the enemy on the left and advancing towards Fæsulæ, he marched through the centre of Etruria with intent to plunder, and displayed to the eyes of the consul, by distant massacres and conflagrations, as wide a scene of desolation as he could. Flaminius, who, even had the enemy remained quiet would not have himself rested, when indeed he saw the property of the allies almost before his own

eyes plundered and pillaged, considering that it was a disgrace to himself that the Carthaginian was roaming even through the midst of Italy, and without resistance was marching to storm the very walls of Rome: although all the others in the council urged safe rather than showy measures, that he should wait for his colleague to carry on the war with united forces, with common courage and counsels: that in the meanwhile the enemy should be restrained from his unbridled freedom in plundering, by the cavalry and light-armed auxiliaries: in a fury he hurried out of the council and at once gave forth the signal for marching and for battle—"Nay rather" said he, "let us encamp before the walls of Arretium: for here is our country and our household gods. Let Hannibal, escaping out of our hands plunder Italy from one end to the other, and devastating and burning every thing, let him reach the walls of Rome; let us not move hence before the Fathers have summoned C. Flaminius from Arretium, as Camillus of old from Veii." While reproaching them thus, and in the act of ordering the standards to be quickly pulled up, when he had sprung upon his horse the animal suddenly fell, and the consul was unseated and thrown over its head. When all the bystanders were alarmed at this unhappy omen, as it were at the opening of the campaign, further news is brought that the standard, spite of all the active tugging of the bearer, could not be pulled up. The consul turning to the messenger said—"Do you bring me despatches too from the senate forbidding me to carry on the war? Away, tell them to dig up the standard if their hands are too benumbed with fear to pluck it up." After this the army began to march, the officers beside that they had dissented from his plan, being likewise alarmed at the double prodigy, while the soldiery in general were elated by the spirited conduct of their general, since they regarded rather the actual hope than the ground of that hope.

IV. Hannibal laid waste with all the horrors of war the country that lies between the city of Cortona and the Lake Trasimenus, that he might the more exasperate the wrath of the enemy to avenge the injuries of his allies. They had already arrived at a place formed by nature for an ambuscade, at the very spot where the lake Trasimenus comes up to the mountains of Cortona. A very narrow passage only intervenes, as though a space had been purposely left for that very purpose: from this point the

plain somewhat widens and behind it rises a line of hills. He there encamped on an open spot, so as to take up his position in person with only the Africans and Spaniards. The Baliares and the other light-armed troops he marched back, behind the mountains, and placed his cavalry at the very entrance of the glen, some eminences conveniently concealing them; so that when the Romans had entered, by throwing his cavalry in their rear every place might be enclosed by the lake and mountains. Flaminius, although he had arrived at the lake on the preceding day at sunset, without reconnoitring the spot, on the following day before it was yet broad daylight, after passing through the defiles, when his columns began to deploy into the wider portion of the plain, perceived only so much of the enemy as was immediately in front: the ambuscades in the rear and overhead were unnoticed by him. When the Carthaginian had gained his object, thus holding the enemy shut in between the lake and mountains and surrounded by his forces, he gave the signal to all for a general attack. And when they charged down each to the nearest point of assault the effect on the Romans was the more sudden and unexpected because a mist which arose from the lake lay more thickly on the plain than on the mountains, and the columns of the enemy from the several valleys were in full view of one another, which assisted in rendering the charge simultaneous. The Romans as the shout arose from all sides, before they had obtained a clear view perceived that they were surrounded: and the attack on the front and sides began before their line was properly drawn up, their arms prepared for action, or their swords could be drawn.

V. The consul who while all were panic-struck, retained considerable presence of mind considering the confusion of the moment, while each turned himself towards the discordant shouts, drew up his disordered lines as the time and place permitted: and wherever he could approach or be heard he cheered them on and bade them stand and fight: for they could not extricate themselves from that pass by vows or prayers to the gods, but by might and courage. "The only way to penetrate through an army is by the sword." And in proportion as the fear is less there is generally least danger. But from the noise and tumult neither advice nor command could be caught: and so far were the soldiers from knowing their own standards, line, and station, that they had scarce the spirit to

seize on their arms and prepare them for the fray : some of them were surprised, burdened rather than protected by their accoutrements, and in the great mist that prevailed, their ears had more to do than their eyes. On hearing the groans of the wounded and the blows which clattered on men's bodies and armour, and the mixed shouts of yelling enemies and panic-stricken friends they kept turning their faces and eyes in all directions. Some attempting flight encountered a dense mass of combatants and stuck fast, others returning to the fight were driven back by a column of fugitives. Then, when they had charged in all directions but to no purpose, and when on the flanks the mountains and lake, in front and rear the line of the enemy was shutting them in, and there appeared no hope of safety except in main strength and their own good swords : then each man became a leader for himself and an encourager to cheer him to the fight, and a new combat broke out afresh : it was not fought in regular lines of principes, hastati and triarii, nor that the vanguard should fight before the standard, and the rest of the troops behind them : or that the soldiers should be posted in their own legions, cohort or manipule. The formation of their squares was left to chance ; each one's courage assigned to him his station in the fight either in front or rear : and so great was the ardour of the conflict, so engaged were their thoughts in the battle, that an earthquake which threw down large portions of many cities of Italy, diverted rapid streams from their beds, carried the sea up into rivers, levelled mountains with a tremendous crash, was felt by none of the combatants.

VI. For about three hours the fight lasted, and fiercely was it fought in every quarter of the field, but the hottest and most deadly combat took place around the consul. He was followed by the flower of his army, and at the same time in whatever part he perceived his men were hard pressed and distressed he gallantly supported them ; and being easily distinguished by his armour the enemy exerted their utmost efforts in attacking, the Romans in defending him : until an Insubrian horseman named Ducarius, recognised him by his face likewise, said to his countrymen—
 "See this is the consul who massacred our legions, devastated our lands and city : now will I give this victim to the shades of our fellow-countrymen miserably slain." And plunging his spurs into

his horse he burst through a very dense mass of the enemy, and after first slaying the armour-bearer, who had thrown himself in his way to oppose his deadly purpose, he ran the consul through with his lance: the triarii opposing their shields kept the barbarian off while attempting to despoil him. At this moment a large body first turned and fled, and now neither lake nor mountains stopped their panic-stricken flight: through all the confined and steep places they extricated themselves like men blind, and arms and men, one after the other, were dashed headlong. A large body not knowing where to escape, advancing through the shallows at the edge of the lake, plunged in as far as they could with their heads and shoulders above the water: there were some who were driven by inconsiderate panic to escape even by swimming. And as the space for flight was immense and hopeless, their spirits giving way, they were either drowned in the deep water, or after fatiguing themselves in vain made their way back again with the greatest difficulty to the shallows, and were there butchered in all directions by horsemen of the enemy who rode into the water. About six thousand in the van of the army having gallantly burst through the enemies in front of them, ignorant of everything that was being enacted in their rear, emerged from the glen. And when they had halted on a kind of mound listening only to the shouting and clash of arms, they were unable to know or learn the fortune of the day owing to the thick mist. When at length the battle was turned, and when the mist dispersed by the sun as it grew warmer, disclosed the day, then by means of the light now clear, the mountains and plains showed the ruined fortunes and the miserable destruction of the Roman army. Accordingly, lest if they were perceived in the distance the cavalry should be sent against them, they hastily snatched up the standards and marching at full speed hurried away. On the following day, when added to their other miseries, the extremity of famine likewise stared them in the face, they surrendered themselves to Maharbal, who with his cavalry forces had followed them by night, on a promise from him that if they delivered up their arms he would allow them to depart each with one raiment; which promise was kept by Hannibal with the usual faith of a Carthaginian, and he threw them all into chains.

VII. Such is a description of the well-known battle of lake Trasimene, and one that is recorded among the few disasters of

the Roman people. Fifteen thousand Romans were slain on the field: ten thousand, scattered in flight throughout the whole of Etruria, made for the city by different routes. One thousand five hundred of the enemy were slain in the battle, many afterwards died on both sides from their wounds. Other historians relate a much larger slaughter on both sides. For myself, besides that I wish to have nothing drawn from sources grossly false, and to which the minds of historians are generally too much given, I have as my chief authority Fabius, a cotemporary with the events of this war. Hannibal after dismissing without ransom those prisoners who belonged to the Latin name, but throwing the Romans into chains, when he had ordered the bodies of his own men to be separated from the piles of the enemy heaped up, made very diligent search for the body of Flaminius likewise, in order to give it honourable burial, but did not find it. At Rome on the first announcement of that disaster, the whole population flocked into the forum in great consternation and confusion. The matrons wandering through the streets questioned those they met what sudden disaster was reported, what was the fate of the army: and when the mob as though to a full general assembly had thronged into the comitium and senate-house and were calling upon the magistrates, M. Pomponius the prætor said—"We have been conquered in a great battle:" and although nothing more definite was heard from him yet catching up vague rumours one from the other they carried back home the news that the consul was slain with a great part of his forces: that a few only survived, and those either fugitives dispersed through Etruria or prisoners in the hands of the enemy. The minds of men were distracted with anxieties exactly proportioned to the list of casualties in the conquered army, those whose relations had taken service under the consul C. Flaminius, in their ignorance what was the fate of each of their friends: and no one knew for certain what to hope or what to fear. On the following day and afterwards for some days a multitude, in which there was almost a predominance of females over the males, thronged the gates, waiting for some one of their friends, or messengers with news of them: they beset all who met them with enquiries: nor could they be torn away from them, at least from their relations, before they had questioned them about everything in detail. Then as they parted from their informants you

might see various expressions of countenance as each one received glad or mournful tidings: congratulating, consoling, surrounding those who were returning to their homes. The joy of the women especially and their grief was most marked. One they say at the very gate having suddenly come upon her son who was safe breathed her last on beholding him: another, whose son's death had been falsely announced, sitting in sorrow at home died overpowered with delight at the first view of her son who was restored to her. The prætors detained the senate in the senate-house for several days from day-break until sun-down, deliberating under what general or with what resources resistance could be offered to the victorious Carthaginians.

VIII. Before their plans had been definitely arranged another sudden disaster was reported: four thousand horsemen under the command of C. Centenius, the proprætor, having been sent to his colleague by the consul Servilius were cut off by Hannibal in Umbria, whither they had directed their march after hearing of the battle at lake Trasimenus. The news of this event variously affected men: some, whose minds were already occupied with deeper anxieties, thought that the late loss of cavalry was trivial in comparison with former losses: some did not estimate the occurrence by its real value. But, as in a disordered body any circumstance however trivial is more keenly felt than a more dangerous one in a healthy constitution, so now every adversity that befell the sick and disordered state must not be estimated by the importance of the events, but by the weakness of the constitution which could not bear anything which aggravated it. Accordingly, the state took refuge in a remedy, which had now for a long time neither been regretted or applied,—the appointment of a dictator: and because the consul was away, by whom alone it was thought the nomination could be made, and because it was not easy to send a messenger or despatches through the part of Italy occupied by the Carthaginian troops, and the people could not elect a dictator: the people selected Q. Fabius Maximus as pro-dictator, a thing which had never been done before that day, and M. Minucius Rufus as his master of the horse. These were entrusted by the senate with the duty of strengthening the walls and towers of the city, of placing garrisons in such places as they thought best, and of breaking down the bridges

over the rivers; as they had been unable to protect Italy they must fight to the last near their homes to defend their city.

IX. Hannibal marched in a straight course through Umbria as far as Spoletum. Thence, when he had commenced an assault on the city, after ravaging the country far and wide, being driven off with great slaughter of his men, conjecturing from the strength of one colony which he had very unsuccessfully tried to storm how great an undertaking would be an attempt upon the city of Rome: he turned his course aside into the territory of Picenum, which was not only well stocked with plenty of every kind of produce but filled with booty, which his greedy and needy soldiers plundered without restraint. There he had a fixed encampment for several days, and his soldiers were refreshed, enfeebled as they were by winter campaigns and marches through morasses, and by a battle rather successful in its issue than a trivial or easy combat. When sufficient time for repose had been allowed, as his troops delighted more in booty and devastation than in ease and rest, Hannibal set out and ravaged the territory of the Pretutii and of Hadria; next he plundered the Marsi, Marrucini and the Peligni, and the portion of Apulia nearest to him around Arpi and Luceria. Cn. Servilius the consul after engaging in skirmishes with the Gauls, and one unimportant town being taken by assault, when he heard of the destruction of his colleague and his army, became alarmed for the walls of his native city, and directed his march towards Rome that he might not be absent in so extreme a crisis. Q. Fabius Maximus, a second time dictator, on the day he entered office summoned the senate and began with a notice of the gods, after he had clearly proved to the Fathers that the faults of C. Flaminius the consul were more due to his neglect of the ceremonies and auspices than to his rashness and ignorance, and that they ought to consult the gods themselves as to what were the proper expiations of their wrath: he obtained a resolution, which is not usually passed except when horrible prodigies have been announced, that the decemviri should be ordered to consult the Sibylline books. Having examined the books of fate they reported to the Fathers that the vow which had been offered to Mars in consequence of that war had not been formally offered, and that it must be performed afresh and more fully: to Jupiter games on a large scale, and to Venus Erycina and to Mens temples must

be vowed, and a general fast and lectisternium held: a sacred spring must also be vowed if the war should prove successful and the republic should remain on the same footing as before the war. The senate, as the management of the war would occupy Fabius, ordered M. Æmilius the prætor to see that all those things should be carried out in good time in accordance with the directions of the college of priests.

X. These decrees of the senate being passed L. Cornelius Lentulus, the pontifex maximus, when he was consulted by the college of prætors gave his opinion that first of all the people must be consulted about a sacred spring: that without the command of the people it could not be vowed. The people were asked according to the following form. "Will you and ordain you that this be so arranged: if the commonwealth of the whole Roman people shall be preserved safe as I wish for the next five years from these present wars: that is to say, the wars between the Roman people and the Carthaginians, and the war with the Gauls who are on this side of the Alps, that the whole Roman people present as an offering whatever the spring shall produce from herds of swine, sheep, goats, oxen, and that all which have not yet been already hallowed be sacrificed to Jupiter, from whatsoever day the senate and people shall appoint. Whoever shall make an offering, let him make it when he shall please and in whatsoever manner he shall please: in whatsoever manner he do it let it be duly sacrificed. If that animal die which ought to be sacrificed let it be not consecrated, let it not be accounted sin: if any one unwittingly wound or kill it, let it be no detriment to him: if any one has stolen it, let no guilt be attached to the people, nor to him from whom it was stolen. If any one shall unwittingly sacrifice on a forbidden day, let it be duly sacrificed: if by night or by day, by slave or by freeman, sacrifice be made, let it be duly sacrificed: if the senate and people shall order the sacrifice to be made sooner than anyone shall make it, let the people unrestrained by that be free." On the same account games on a grand scale were vowed, at an expense of three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three asses of copper, and a third: in addition, three hundred oxen to Jupiter, and white oxen to many other deities, and the other victims. After the vows had been duly pronounced a general supplication was proclaimed: this was

attended not only by crowds from the city with their wives and children, but also by those from the country, whose private circumstances were in some way affected by their interest in the public weal. A lectisternium was then celebrated for three days, under the direction of the decemviri of sacred rites. Six couches were to be seen: to Jupiter and Juno one, a second to Neptunus and Minerva, a third to Mars and Venus, a fourth to Apollo and Diana, a fifth to Vulcanus and Vesta, a sixth to Mercurius and Ceres. Next the temples were vowed: to Venus Erycina Q. Fabius Maximus vowed a temple, for so it was delivered from the books of fate that he should vow it who held the highest authority in the state. T. Otacilius the prætor vowed a temple to Mens.

XI. The affairs of religion having been thus completed, the dictator next brought before the Senate the conduct of the war and the commonwealth: with what, and with how many legions the Fathers were of opinion they must oppose the victorious enemy. It was resolved that the dictator should receive the army from Cn. Servilius the consul: that he should levy besides from the citizens and allies as many horse and foot as he thought fit: that all other matters he should transact and perform as he should deem conducive to the common interests. Fabius said he would add two legions to the army of Servilius: and when they had been levied by the master of the horse, he appointed a day when all should rendezvous at Tibur. Proclamation too was made that those whose towns and strongholds were not fortified, should go in a body into safe places: that all those likewise living in the direction where Hannibal was about to march, should leave the country and go into the towns, after first burning their houses and spoiling their fruits, that there might be no supplies of any kind. Fabius himself set out by the Flaminian way to meet the consul and his army, and when he perceived his columns near the Tiber about Otriculum, and the consul with his mounted suite advancing to meet him, he sent a sergeant to acquaint the consul that he must come without his lictors to the dictator. When the consul had obeyed the command, and their meeting had exhibited a striking display of the dictatorship before the citizens and allies, who from its antiquity, had now almost forgotten that sovereign power: a dispatch was brought from the city announcing that certain transports, conveying supplies from Ostia to Spain for the army, had been captured by a Carthaginian

fleet near the port of Cosa. Accordingly the consul was ordered to set out immediately for Ostia, and after manning the ships which might be at Rome or Ostia with soldiers and marines of the allies, to pursue the enemy's fleet, and protect the shores of Italy. Great numbers of men were enrolled at Rome: even freed-men who had children and were of the military age, had taken the oath. Of this army, levied in the city, those who were under five and thirty years of age were put on board ships, the others were left behind to garrison the city.

XII. The dictator having received the army of the consul from his lieutenant Fulvius Flaccus, marched through the Sabine territory, and came to Tibur, on the day he had appointed the newly enrolled soldiers to rendezvous there: thence he proceeded to Præneste, and by cross roads he debouched on to the Latin Way: whence, after exploring the routes with the greatest care, he led his troops against the enemy, not intending to trust himself to fortune in any place, except so far as necessity compelled him. On the day he first pitched his camp, not far from Arpi in full view of the enemy, the Carthaginian without any delay led his troops out in battle array, and offered him battle. But when he saw everything quiet among the enemy, and that no confusion disturbed their camp, tauntingly remarking that even the spirits of the Romans inherited from Mars were at length conquered, that the war was virtually at an end, and that they had openly renounced all claims to valour and glory, he returned into his camp. But his mind was consumed with silent anxieties, thinking that for the future he would have to deal with a general, by no means resembling Flaminius and Sempronius, and that now at length the Romans having learnt a lesson from their misfortunes, had sought a general a match for Hannibal. It was the foresight, not the impetuosity of the dictator that he had forthwith to fear. Having not yet experienced his inflexibility he began to irritate and tempt the Roman's spirit by frequently moving his camp, and by devastating before his eyes the lands of the allies; at one time he would make a forced march and remove out of his sight, at another, he would suddenly halt after concealing himself in some bend of the road, to try if he could entrap him on his descending into the plain. Fabius kept marching his troops along the high grounds at a moderate distance from the enemy, so as neither to lose sight of him nor bring on an encounter. The soldiers were kept within the camp,

except so far as their wants necessarily compelled them to quit it: they collected food and fuel in large parties, and were not allowed to stray. A picquet of cavalry and light armed troops, arranged and equipped for sudden alarms, rendered everything safe for their own soldiers, and annoyed the stray foragers of the enemy. Nor was his whole cause committed to one decisive risk; while the small results produced by slight skirmishes, commenced on safe ground, with a retreat close at hand, began to accustom the soldiery, terrified by their former disasters, now at last to feel less distrust in their courage or fortunes. But this sound policy found no greater enemy in Hannibal than in the master of the horse, who was only checked from plunging the state into ruin because he was second in authority. Overweening and hasty in counsel, and unbridled in his tongue, at first among a few, then openly in the crowd he began addressing him, not as a wary and cautious commander, but as slothful and timid, ascribing the faults akin to good qualities: and by disparaging his superiors, he raised his own credit, (a practice of the worst kind which has been on the increase from the too successful prosperity of many).

XIII. Hannibal crossed over from the Hirpini into Samnium: he laid waste the territory of Beneventum, captured the city of Telesia, and purposely irritated the dictator to try if he could draw him from the hills, when roused by so many indignities and losses of his allies, to a battle on the plain. Among the multitude of allies of Italian extraction who had been taken prisoners by Hannibal at lake Trasimene and had been set free, were three Campanian knights, who at the time of their capture had been allured by the presents and promises of Hannibal to win over the affections of their countrymen. These announced that if he advanced his army into Campania he might have an opportunity of gaining Capua: but as their business was more important than his informants, they prevailed upon Hannibal though hesitating, and alternately trusting and distrusting them, to quit Samnium for Campania: and when they had been admonished to be sure and make good their promises by their acts, and ordered to return to him with others and some of the chief men, he dismissed them. Hannibal himself ordered the guide to conduct him into the territory of Casinum, being assured by persons acquainted with the country that if he seized that pass he would close the only

outlet by which the Romans could bring aid to their allies. But as a Carthaginian mouth is unsuited to pronounce Latin names the result was that the guide mistook Casilinum for Casinum: and Hannibal, diverted from his intended march, descended through the territory of Allifæ, Calatia, and Cales into the plain of Stella. And when he had there looked around upon a country shut in by mountains and rivers, he called the guide to him and interrogated him as to where in the world he was. When he replied that on that day he would lodge at Casilinum, then at length his mistake was found out, and that Casinum was a long way off in another direction. Having scourged the guide with rods and crucified him to intimidate the others, he fortified a camp and despatched Maharbal with his cavalry into the Falernian territory to pillage. This predatory excursion reached as far as the waters of Sinuessa: but great as was the loss of life, the panic and terror caused by the Numidians spread wider. Yet in spite of this consternation, when everything was in the flames of war, the allies were not shaken from their fidelity: for this reason, because they were governed by a legitimate and constitutional authority, and were not unwilling to obey the better of two masters, which is the only true bond of allegiance.

XIV. But when the enemy's camp was pitched at the river Volturnus, and the most delightful country in Italy was being burnt to ashes, and farms were smoking in the conflagration in all directions, and while Fabius still led his army over the ridges of Mount Massicus, then the mutinous feeling very nearly broke out afresh. For they had remained quiet for a few days, because the movement of the army having been more than usually rapid they had supposed that speedy measures would be taken to save Campania from pillage. But when they came to the extreme ridge of Mount Massicus, and looked down upon the enemy beneath them burning the farm-steads of the Falernian territory and of the colonists of Sinuessa, and no mention was made of a battle, Minucius exclaimed — "Have we come hither to watch the slaughter and burning homes of our allies, as though it were a sight to delight the eye? and if we are not ashamed of any others are we not at least of these our fellow-citizens, whom our fathers sent as colonists to Sinuessa that this frontier might be protected from the Samnite foe: which now not the neighbour

Samnite is burning but a Carthaginian stranger who has forced his way hither from the ends of the earth, thanks to our dilatoriness and sloth. Shame on us, so degenerate are we from our fathers, that, though they thought it a disgrace to their rule that Carthaginian fleets should roam about their coast, we behold it at this moment filled with enemies, Numidians and Moors? We, who lately, indignant at the storming of Saguntum, were invoking not men only but treaties and the gods, now see before our eyes with coward indifference Hannibal escalading the walls of a Roman colony. The smoke from the conflagration of our farmsteads and lands comes into our eyes and faces: our ears ring with the cries of our wailing allies, oftener imploring us to help them than the gods: we are here moving our army like a herd of cattle through the summer pastures and lonely sheep-walks, enveloped in clouds and woods. If in this way by traversing mountain tops and passes M. Furius had resolved to recover the city from the Gauls, as this second Camillus, whom we have found a dictator without a match in the troubles of our state, is preparing to recover Italy from Hannibal, Rome would still be in the possession of the Gauls. Though I fear lest, if we thus delay, our ancestors will have so often preserved it only for Hannibal and the Carthaginians. But as a true man and a real son of Rome, on the day that the news reached Veii that he had been made dictator by the authority of the Fathers and the command of the people, although Janiculum was a hill quite high enough for him to encamp there and observe the distant enemy, he descended into the plain; and on that very day in the middle of the city, where is now the burial-place of the Gauls, he cut to pieces the legions of the Gauls, as he did on the following day on this side of Gabii. Again, many years after, when we were sent beneath the yoke, at the Caudine forks by the Samnite enemy, was it, I would ask, by ranging over the ridges of Samnium, or by blockading and besieging Luceria and exasperating a victorious enemy, that L. Papirius Cursor thrust the yoke from the Roman neck and placed it upon the haughty Samnite? In recent times, what other course but rapidity of action gave victory to C. Lutatius? for on the day after he saw the enemy he suddenly surprised their fleet loaded with supplies, encumbered with its own stores and equipment. Folly it is to suppose that the war can be brought to a conclusion by

inactive campaigns or by vows: troops must be armed, and marched down into the plain, so that you may close man with man. By daring and doing the Roman state has grown, not by dilatory measures such as these, which the cowardly only designate as cautious." A crowd of Roman tribunes and knights kept thronging round Minucius while thus, as it were, haranguing; and his presumptuous words caught the ears even of the soldiers; and had the conduct of the war been a matter for vote, they were evidently disposed to give it for preferring Minucius to Fabius as their general.

XV. Fabius, who was all the same intent no less on the conduct of his own troops than on that of the enemy, at first showed his resolution was unconquered by them. Although he well knew that not in his camp only, but now even at Rome his delaying was ill-spoken of, he still spent the whole remaining portion of the summer in an obstinate adherence to the same course of policy: so that Hannibal, abandoning all hopes of the engagement which he had so anxiously sought for, was now looking around for a place for his winter quarters, because that district, consisting of orchards and vineyards, and all planted with the luxuries rather than with the necessaries of life, though it furnished supplies for the present, would not do so throughout the year. This intelligence was brought to Fabius by the scouts. When he felt convinced that Hannibal would return through the same narrow pass by which he had entered the Falernian territory, he occupied Mount Callicula and Casilinum with sufficiently strong guards: which city, intersected by the river Volturnus, divides the Falernian and Campanian territories. He himself marched back his army by the same heights, having despatched L. Hostilius Mancinus to reconnoitre with four hundred of the allied cavalry. Mancinus being one of the many young men who had frequently heard the fierce harangues of the master of the horse, having first advanced in reconnoitring order that he might observe the enemy from a safe position, when he saw the Numidians scattered all about through the villages, he seized his opportunity and even cut off some few of them. Immediately his mind was engrossed with the desire of a combat, and the injunctions of the dictator were forgotten: who had ordered him to advance as far as he could with safety, and then to retreat before he came in sight of the enemy. The Numidians, in small detached

parties attacking and retreating, drew the master of the horse almost to their camp, thereby fatiguing both horses and men. Thereupon Carthalo, who had the chief command of the cavalry, charged at full speed, and when he had put the enemy to flight before he came within a dart's throw, he pursued them as they fled for nearly five miles without stopping. Mancinus, when he saw that the enemy desisted not from the pursuit, and that there was no hope of escaping from them, cheered on his men and returned into the battle, though inferior to the enemy in every element of strength. Accordingly he himself and the flower of the cavalry were surrounded, and cut to pieces. The rest, scattered in disordered flight, made good their escape, first to Cales, thence by almost trackless paths to the dictator. It so happened that on that day Minucius had united his forces with those of Fabius, having been sent with a guard to secure the pass, (which above Tarracina is contracted into a narrow gorge, and overhangs the sea,) lest, in consequence of the defenceless state of the Apian Way, the Carthaginians should be able to get into the Roman territory. After uniting their forces, the dictator and the master of the horse moved their camp into the lower road, through which Hannibal was about to march his troops. The enemy were two miles distant from that place.

XVI. On the following day the Carthaginians filled with their forces on the march all the road between the two camps. Though the Romans had halted close to their own entrenchments, in a position manifestly more favourable, yet the Carthaginian came up to them with his light horse, and in order to provoke the enemy, they fought in a desultory manner, advancing and retreating. The Roman line remained in its position, and the fighting was slack, answering rather to the wishes of the dictator than of Hannibal. On the side of the Romans there fell two hundred, and of the enemy eight hundred. Hannibal now seemed hemmed in, the road to Casilinum being blockaded: and while Capua and Samnium and all the wealthy allies in their rear kept up a constant supply of provisions for the Romans, the Carthaginian on the contrary, seemed likely to make his winter quarters amid the rocks of Formiæ and the sands and swamps of Linternum, overgrown with rank vegetation. Nor did it escape Hannibal that he was being assailed by his own arts: therefore, since he could not escape by way of

Casilinum, and since he must make for the mountains, and get over the ridge of Callicula, fearing likewise lest the Romans should attack his army somewhere shut up in the valleys, he devised a stratagem calculated to deceive the eye, though in appearance frightful, to defeat the enemy's intentions, and determined in the first watch of the night to reach the mountains by stealth. The following were the materials of his plan for deceiving the Romans. Bundles of wood, collected from the fields on all sides, and faggots of rods and dry cuttings were fastened in front of the horns of oxen, large herds of which, both wild and tame, he was driving among other plunder from the country. A drove was made up amounting almost to two thousand oxen. To Hasdrubal was assigned the task of driving, at the first darkening in of night, the herd to the mountains, after having set fire to their horns: particularly if he could, over the passes occupied by the enemy.

XVII. As soon as it was dark the camp was set in motion in silence: the oxen were driven a little in advance of the standards. When they arrived at the foot of the mountains and where the roads were narrow, the signal was immediately given, that after setting fire to their horns the herd should be driven to the mountains in front of them. The oxen stung as it were with madness, were urged on by sheer fright at the flame that glared from their heads, and by the burning heat which soon reached the quick and the roots of their horns. And as they rushed suddenly in all directions, all the brushwood around them was in a blaze, just as when woods and mountains have been set on fire: and the unavailing tossing of their heads, exciting the flame, presented the appearance of troops of men running to and fro on every side. Those who had been stationed to occupy the road across the pass when they saw fires on the tops of the mountains and some over their heads, thinking that they were surrounded, deserted their post, making for the highest ridges of the mountains where the flames blazed with the widest intervals, under the impression that this was the safest road: however they fell in with some oxen which had strayed from their herd. At first when they beheld them at a distance they stood aghast at the wondrous apparition of animals which seemed to breathe flames: but afterwards when it was evident that the trick was of human contrivance, then indeed thinking there was an ambuscade, as with increased alarm they hurried away

in flight, they further encountered some light-armed troops of the enemy. But night, as the panic on both sides was equal, kept both parties from beginning an attack till daylight. Meanwhile Hannibal having marched all his columns across through the pass, and after defeating some of the enemy in the defile itself, pitched his camp in the territory of Allifæ.

XVIII. Fabius perceived this confusion in the distance, but thinking it was an ambuscade, and shrinking at any rate from a night encounter, kept his troops within the works. At daybreak a battle took place just under the heights: in which the Romans, (for they were considerably superior in numbers,) would have easily overpowered the light-armed of the enemy, cut off as they were from their party, had not a cohort of Spaniards, sent back for that very purpose by Hannibal, arrived in time to save them. That body, more accustomed to mountains and better fitted for running among rocks and crags, and better equipped both by the agility of their bodies and the fashion of their armour, in this kind of battle had no difficulty in baffling a lowland enemy, encumbered with arms, and trained for a standing fight. Separating from a contest thus by no means equal, they made their way into their camps, the Spaniards with scarcely a casualty, the Romans with considerable loss. Fabius likewise moved his camp, and having crossed over the pass, took up a position beyond Allifæ in a lofty and fortified situation. Then Hannibal pretending that he was making for Rome through Samnium, retraced his footsteps as far as the Peligni, bent on ravaging. Fabius led his army on the ridges midway between the columns of the enemy and the city of Rome, neither losing sight of him, nor falling in his way. From the Peligni the Carthaginian turned his course, and going back again into Apulia arrived at Geronium, a city deserted by its inhabitants in fear, because a part of the walls had fallen down in ruins. The dictator strongly fortified a camp in the territory of Larinum. Thence being recalled to Rome in consequence of some religious ceremonies, he not only urged the master of the horse in virtue of his authority as commanding officer, but also advised him and almost prayed him to place more confidence in tactics than in fortune: and imitate him as a general rather than Sempronius and Flaminius; that he should not suppose nothing had been done because the whole of the summer had been spent in baffling the foe; that

physicians in like manner sometimes gain more by not prescribing than by active treatment; that it was no slight matter to have gained a respite from being conquered by an enemy so often victorious, and to have taken breath after an uninterrupted series of disasters. Having thus unavailingly admonished beforehand the master of the horse, he set out for Rome.

XIX. In the beginning of the summer in which these events occurred, the war began in Spain likewise by land and sea. Hasdrubal added ten to the squadron of ships which he had received from his brother, equipped and ready for action, and delivered to Himilco a fleet of forty ships. Thereupon leaving New Carthage and keeping the line of the coast with his fleet, he marched his army on the shore, ready to engage with whatever arm of the forces of the enemy he might meet. Cn. Scipio, when he heard that the enemy had moved out of his winter quarters, was at first disposed to follow the same plan: but afterwards not daring to engage with him so much by land, learning the great reputation of his new allies, having embarked picked troops for sea service, he proceeded with a fleet of five and thirty ships to meet the enemy. On the second day after leaving Tarraco, he reached a post which was ten miles distant from the mouth of the river Iberus. Two look-out ships of the Massilians, sent forward from this place, brought word back that the Carthaginian fleet was lying at anchor at the mouth of the river, and that their camp was pitched on the bank. Accordingly that he might surprise them when unprovided and off their guard by a simultaneous and general panic, he weighed anchor and bore down towards the enemy. In Spain there are many towers built on high situations, which they use as watch-towers and strongholds against banditti. From one of these towers, when the enemy's ships were sighted, the signal was first given to Hasdrubal: and confusion arose among the troops on land and in the camp, before it reached the sea and the ships, as the splash of oars and other sounds of seamen were not yet distinctly heard, or the headlands disclosing the fleet to view. Suddenly, mounted videttes sent one after the other by Hasdrubal, ordered those who were strolling on the shore or resting quietly in their tents, expecting anything rather than an enemy or a battle on that day, to embark without a moment's delay, and to take their arms: announcing that the Roman fleet was already close off the port. These orders horsemen despatched in all

directions kept repeating. Presently Hasdrubal himself came up with all his forces. All places resounded with confusion of varied description; rowers and soldiers crowding into the ships, rather like men running away from the land than advancing into action. Scarcely had all embarked when some loosed their moorings and pulled out against their anchors; others, that nothing might impede them, cut their cables, and by doing everything hastily and in too hurried a manner, the services of the crew were hampered by the *matériel* of the soldiers, and the soldiers were prevented by the bustling of the sailors from seizing their arms or looking to them. Already were the Romans not only approaching but had even drawn up their ships for action. The Carthaginians therefore, thrown into disorder, not so much by the enemy and the attack, as by their own confusion, having, to speak correctly, rather attempted to fight than begin an engagement, turned their fleet for flight. And since the mouth of the river in front of them was not passable for a broad line, formed by so many ships advancing together, they ran their ships on shore in all directions, some being received from the ships by leaping into shallow water, others on to the dry shore, some armed, others unarmed, made good their escape to their army, which was drawn up in line on the shore. Two Carthaginian ships however were captured at the first shock, and four were sunk.

XX. The Romans, though the enemy was master of the shore, and they saw armed troops lining the whole coast, without delay pursued the disorderly fleet of the enemy, and dragged out into deep water, after fastening cables to their sterns, all the ships which had not either smashed their prows by running aground, or set their keels fast in the shallows. They took full five and twenty ships out of forty. Nor was that the fairest fruit of the victory: they had in one easy encounter become masters of the whole seaboard of that district. Accordingly they went south with their fleet to Honosca, and having disembarked from their ships upon the coast, after they had taken the city by storm and pillaged it, they next made for New Carthage: and when they had laid waste the whole country round, they finally set fire also to the buildings contiguous to the wall and gates. From here the fleet, now loaded with plunder, arrived at Longuntica, where a great quantity of

broom had been stored by Hasdrubal for the purposes of the fleet: after taking away as much of it as was sufficient for their necessities, they burnt all the rest. Nor did the fleet cruise along the promontories of the mainland only, but crossed over to the island of Ebusus: where after a laborious but fruitless assault, which lasted two days, upon the city which is the capital of the island, finding that they were wasting their time on a hopeless project, they had recourse to plundering the country, and after they had sacked and burnt several villages, and taken more booty than from the mainland, when they had retired to their ships, deputies came from the Balearic islands to Scipio to sue for peace. Thence the fleet steered homeward, and they returned to the northernmost parts of their provinces, where deputies from all the tribes which dwell on the Iberus, and from many even in the remotest parts of Spain, assembled. Now the number of tribes that after giving hostages became actually under the sway and command of the Romans, was more than a hundred and twenty. The Romans therefore, feeling as perfect confidence in their army as in their navy, advanced as far as the pass of Castulo. Hasdrubal retired into Lusitania and nearer the Atlantic.

XXI. After this it seemed probable that the remainder of the summer would be undisturbed, and it would have been so had the Carthaginian been the only enemy; but besides that the temper of the Spaniards is naturally restless and eager for novelty, Mandonius and Indibilis, the latter of whom had formerly been a petty king of the Ilergetes, after the Romans had retired from the pass to the sea coast, rousing their countrymen, came to lay waste the conquered territory of the Roman allies. A military tribune with light-armed auxiliaries being sent against them by Scipio, routed them all after an easy struggle, as they were but a hastily organized body: some having been slain and captured, a large portion of them were deprived of their arms. This disturbance however, brought back Hasdrubal as he was retiring towards the Atlantic, to protect his allies on the south side of the Iberus. The Carthaginian camp was in the territory of the Ilercaonenses, the Roman at New Fleet, when unexpected intelligence turned the war into another quarter. The Celtiberians

who had sent the chiefs of their own district as deputies and had given hostages to the Romans, aroused by a messenger sent from Scipio, took up arms and invaded the province of the Carthaginians with a powerful army, and captured by storm three towns. After that, encountering Hasdrubal himself in two battles with splendid success, they slew fifteen thousand of the enemy, and captured four thousand, with a large number of military standards.

XXII. This being the position of affairs in Spain, P. Scipio arrived in his province, having been sent thither by the Senate, (his military command having been prolonged after his consulship) with thirty ships of war, and eight thousand soldiers, and carrying a large quantity of supplies for his army. This fleet, swelled to an enormous size by the long line of transports, was observed at some distance, and entered in safety the harbour of Tarraco to the great joy of the citizens and allies. When the soldiers had been landed Scipio set out and joined his brother, and henceforth they carried on the war with united courage and counsels. The Carthaginians therefore being engaged in the war with the Celtiberians, they promptly crossed the Iberus: and when no enemy was seen they hastened their march to Saguntum, because it was reported that hostages from the whole of Spain, committed to safe keeping by Hannibal, were there kept in the citadel by a not very strong guard. This pledge alone checked the affections of all the people of Spain, who were inclined towards an alliance with the Romans, fearing as they did that the guilt of their treason would be punished by the blood of their own children. From that restraint a single individual, by a scheme rather ingenious than honourable, liberated Spain. Abelux was a noble Spaniard of Saguntum, hitherto faithful to the Carthaginians: but now (such is for the most part the disposition of barbarians) had changed his allegiance with fortune; but considering that a deserter going over to the enemy without betraying some important interest, was nothing but a single worthless and degraded individual, he bethought himself how he could prove most serviceable to his new allies. Accordingly having turned over everything which fortune could put in his power, he applied his mind more especially to the delivering up of the hostages, considering that this one thing would most of all conciliate for the Romans the friendship of the Spanish chieftains. But since he well knew, that without

the orders of the governor, Bostar, the guards of the hostages would do nothing, he craftily addressed himself to Bostar in person. Bostar had his camp outside the city on the edge of the shore, that he might preclude the Romans from approaching from the harbour. He there took him privately apart and warned him, as though he were ignorant what was the position of affairs. "Fear," said he, "has up to this day checked the feelings of the Spaniards, because the Romans were far off: but now the Roman camp is on this side of the Iberus, a secure fortress and asylum for those who wish a change: therefore we must by kindness and favour subdue those upon whom fear is no restraint." When Bostar marvelled and cross-questioned him as to what that unexpected gift of so much importance could be, he answered—"Send back the hostages to their states: that will be a pleasing act both in private to their relations, who enjoy the highest reputation in their respective states, and in public to the different tribes. Every man wishes to be believed, and confidence reposed usually enforces honour itself. The office of restoring the hostages to their homes I claim for myself, that I may aid my project by active exertions spent upon it as well, and may add as much additional pleasantness to a service so pleasing in its own intrinsic nature." When he had persuaded the man, who was not shrewd compared with the usual cunning of Carthaginians, he proceeded secretly by night to the outposts of the enemy, and meeting with some Spanish auxiliaries, he was conducted in safety by them to Scipio, and told him the news he brought. Pledges being given and received, and the time and place having been appointed for delivering the hostages, he returned to Saguntum. The following day he spent with Bostar in receiving his commands for carrying out the business. Being dismissed, when he had so arranged it that he should go at night that he might escape the notice of the enemy's sentinels, after rousing the guards of the youths at the hour agreed upon by them, he set out and led them as though unaware of it into an ambush made ready beforehand by his own treachery. The hostages were conducted in safety into the Roman camp, and everything else concerning the restoring of the hostages, just as it had been arranged with Bostar, was done in the same course as if it were being carried out in the name of the Carthaginians. The popularity, however, of the Romans was somewhat greater than that of the

Carthaginians would have been in a similar case: for the latter who had been found oppressive and haughty in prosperity, might have seemed to have been softened by misfortune and fear: the Romans, unknown before, had on their first arrival begun with an act of kindness and liberality: and Abellux, a sagacious man, did not seem a likely person to have changed his allies to no purpose. Accordingly all with great unanimity began to meditate a revolt, and hostilities would instantly have commenced had not winter intervened, which compelled Romans and Carthaginians alike, to retire to the shelter of their quarters.

XXIII. Such were the cotemporary transactions in Spain during the second summer of the Punic War, while in Italy Fabius' usual policy in refusing battle, had given a short respite to the disasters of the Romans. This policy, though it kept Hannibal disturbed with no inconsiderable anxiety, for he saw that the Romans had at length selected as the conductor of their military operations one who would carry on the war by rule and not by chance, nevertheless was held in contempt by the citizens both military and civilian alike, especially when during his absence a battle had been fought by the rashness of the master of the horse, the event of which I should rather term lucky than prosperous. Two circumstances had contributed to increase the unpopularity of the dictator; one arising from the treachery and artifice of Hannibal, for, when the land of the dictator had been pointed out to him by deserters, while all around was razed to the ground, he ordered that it alone should be spared from fire and sword and all hostile violence whatever, so that this should appear to be a consideration given for some secret compact: the second from an act of his own, at first perhaps of doubtful character, because he had not waited for the sanction of the senate, though in the end it decidedly proved to his greatest credit, in the exchanging of the prisoners: for, as had been done in the first Punic war, an agreement had been made between the Roman and Carthaginian generals, that the party which received more than it gave, should pay two and a half pounds of silver for each soldier. When the Romans had received two hundred and forty-seven more than the Carthaginians, and there was some delay in paying down the money due for them, the matter being frequently discussed in the senate, because the dictator had not consulted the Fathers,

he sent his son Quintus to Rome and sold his land which had been uninjured by the enemy, and thus redeemed the public credit at his own private expense. Hannibal lay in a permanent entrenchment before the walls of Geronium, of which city when captured and burnt he had left a few buildings to serve as granaries: thence he used to send forth two thirds of his army to forage, while he himself was in his camp with the remaining third part equipped as light armed troops, at once to protect his camp and, looking around, to prevent an attack from any quarter being made on his foragers.

XXIV. The Roman army was at that time in the territory of Larinum. Minucius, the master of the horse, was in command, after the dictator, as was before mentioned, had set out for the city. But the camp which had been pitched on a mountain in a lofty and secure position, was now brought down into the plain: and the temper of the commander led to the discussion of a bolder policy, that an attack should be made either on the scattered foragers, or on the camp which was left with only a weak garrison. Nor did it escape Hannibal's notice that the tactics of the war had changed with the general, and that the enemy would act with more spirit than discretion. He himself, (incredible as it might appear,) thought the enemy was nearer, despatched a third part of his soldiers to forage, keeping the remaining two thirds in his camp: he next moved his actual encampment nearer the enemy, almost two miles from Geronium to a rising ground in sight of the foe: that they might know he was on the alert to protect his foragers, if any attack should be made upon them. Further on and nearer to the enemy and actually overhanging the Roman camp an eminence was discovered: and because, if he marched openly in broad daylight to seize it, the enemy would doubtless anticipate him by a shorter route, the Numidians were sent under cover of night and took it. As they occupied the place, the Romans on the following day, despising the smallness of their numbers, dislodged them, and thither themselves transferred their camp. Accordingly, as the one entrenchment was but a small space distant from the other, and the Roman lines had almost filled up the whole of that space, the cavalry were at the same moment sent out with the light armed troops by the back gates of the camp to attack the foragers, and far and wide massacred and

pursued the scattered enemy. Nor dared Hannibal hazard a regular battle: because his camp in case of an attack could scarcely be protected by so few troops. And now he carried on the war according to the plans of Fabius (for part of his army was away) by almost complete inactivity and caution, and had withdrawn his troops into their former camp, which was before the walls of Geronium. Some authors affirm that a severe battle was fought in regular lines and with standards advanced to the charge; the Carthaginians they say were by the first shock driven back in confusion to their camp, that a sortie was made from it and the panic suddenly seized the Romans: that next by the opportune arrival of Numerius Decimius, a Samnite, the battle was retrieved; that Numerius the first in family and wealth not only in Bovianum, his native place, but in the whole of Samnium, while conducting by the command of the dictator eight thousand infantry and five hundred horse into the camp, had shown himself on Hannibal's rear and seemed to both parties to be a fresh reinforcement coming from Rome with Q. Fabius: that Hannibal too, fearing some ambuscade, withdrew his troops: that the Romans pursued, and by the help of the Samnites stormed two forts on that day; that six thousand of the enemy were killed, full five thousand of the Romans; but that in a loss almost so exactly equal, intelligence was carried to Rome of a splendid victory, with a letter from the master of the horse still more delusive.

XXV. These matters were frequently brought before the notice of the Senate and the popular assembly. When amid the joy of the state the dictator alone believed neither the report nor the letter, and added that though it were all true, he feared success more than failure: then M. Metilius, tribune of the commons, said such conduct could not be endured; that not only had the dictator when present opposed all useful counsels, but even when absent he still opposed them after they had been carried out: that in prolonging the war he was intentionally wasting time that he might continue the longer in office, and might hold undivided authority both at Rome and in the army: for that one of the consuls had fallen in battle, the other under the pretext of pursuing a Carthaginian fleet, had been banished to a distance from Italy. Two of the prætors were engaged in Sicily and Sardinia, though neither of their provinces required a prætor at

this time. M. Minucius the master of the horse was almost put under arrest, lest he should see the enemy or carry on any warlike operation. Accordingly, by Hercules, not only Samnium where the ground had now been yielded to the Carthaginians, as though it were territory beyond the Iberus, but the lands of Campania, Cales, and the Falernian plain had been laid waste from one end to the other, while the dictator remained inactive at Casilinum, and protected his own land with the legions of the Roman people: the army and the master of the horse burning to fight, had been held back almost imprisoned within the entrenchment; their arms had been taken from them, as though they were captives from the enemy. At length, as soon as the dictator left them, like men freed from a siege, they had marched out of their entrenchment, scattered and routed their enemies. Wherefore if the old spirit were in the Roman commons, he would boldly pass a bill to cancel the power of Fabius: at present he should bring forward a moderate proposition to equalize the authority of the master of the horse and the dictator: yet, not even so, should Q. Fabius be sent to the army before he had substituted a consul in the place of C. Flaminius. The dictator kept away from the assemblies in a question which was by no means popular. Not even in the senate was he listened to with quite favourable ears when he praised the enemy in a speech, and put down the disasters of the last two years to the account of the rashness and incompetency of the generals: and said that he would call the master of the horse to account for fighting contrary to his injunction. He added that if the supreme command and administration of affairs were in his hands, he would let men know before many days were past, that to a good commander fortune was of no great importance; that science and tactics were superior to it: that it was more glorious for him to have preserved the army in a critical moment, and without disgrace, than to have killed many thousands of the enemy. His speeches of this kind being of no effect, and M. Atilius Regulus being elected consul, to avoid a violent personal altercation on the question of his authority, the evening before the day appointed for passing the bill he left Rome for the army. At daybreak a meeting of the commons was held, and the unpopularity of the dictator and favour towards the master of the horse which agitated the minds of the people

were not expressed so openly as to encourage the speakers to come forward to support what was generally popular: and though the popularity of Minucius was predominant, there were few to speak in favour of the bill. One man indeed was found to recommend the measure, C. Terentius Varro, who had been prætor the year before, sprung not only from humble but even mean parentage. They say his father was a butcher, he himself a hawker of meat: and that his parents employed this very son in the menial drudgery incident to their trade.

XXVI. While yet a young man, when a fortune left him by his father, acquired from that kind of traffic, roused his ambition to a hope of a more respectable position in society, and the toga and the forum pleased his fancy; as a blustering advocate of low individuals, and low cases against the property and reputation of men of character, he first came into public notice, and afterwards to curule offices. Having discharged the duties of the quæstorship, the two ædileships, plebeian and curule, and lastly the prætorship, his ambition now aspired to the hope of the consulship, and with not too little cunning, he courted the gale of popular favour from the unpopularity of the dictator, and received the whole credit of the plebiscitum. All men, whether at Rome or in the army, both friends and foes, except the dictator himself, considered the passing of that bill as an affront offered against him. He himself with that dignity of mind with which he had met the accusation of his enemies to the multitude, bore the wrong of the people, embittered as it was against him, and receiving a despatch while yet on his way, of the decree of the senate that the command had been divided, feeling satisfied that an equal share of military authority by no means produced an equalization of military skill, and with his spirit unconquered by his fellow-countrymen, as by his enemies, he returned to the army.

XXVII. Minucius, whose arrogance had already been almost intolerable, owing to his success and popularity, now that he had gained a victory over Fabius, no less than over Hannibal, became more than ever extravagant and unreasonable in his boasts—"Fabius, our one single general in a season of difficulty, the man whom we have matched against Hannibal, has, contrary to all precedents in our history, by the command of the people been placed on an equal footing,—the commanding officer with his

subordinate, the dictator with the master of the horse, and that in the same state in which masters of the horse are wont to tremble and shrink before the rods and axes of the dictator: so pre-eminent have been my good fortune and my merits. Therefore I will follow up my good luck, if the dictator intends to persist in a dilatory and spiritless policy, condemned by the verdict of gods and men." Accordingly on the first day on which he met Fabius, he said they must determine first of all how they should employ their command thus equalized. That for his part he thought it best that each should hold the chief authority and command either on alternate days, or, if they preferred longer tenure, for equally divided periods: so that the general in command, if ever he had an opportunity of striking a blow, might be on the same footing with the enemy not only in his counsels but likewise in his forces. Q. Fabius was far from being satisfied with this: fortune, he said, would have the disposal of everything that was committed to the rashness of his colleague: "My command has been shared with you, not taken away: therefore I will never willingly retire from that share of the politic administration of the war which is under my control; nor will I divide the seasons or days of the command of the army with you, but by my counsels I will save what I can, since I am not allowed to save all." Thus he gained his point that they should divide the legions between them, just as was the custom of the consuls: the first and fourth fell to the lot of Minucius, the second and third to Fabius. So also the cavalry they divided equally between them, and the auxiliaries of the allies, and the Latin name. The master of the horse likewise required that they should form separate encampments.

XXVIII. From this event Hannibal had a twofold cause of joy: for nothing of what was going on among the enemy escaped his notice, both from the frequent information of deserters and from his own spies: for he considered he would catch by his own plan of action the rashness of Minucius now freed from all restraint, and that the skilfulness of Fabius had lost half its strength. There was a rising ground between the camps of Minucius and the Carthaginians. It was evident that the party who occupied it first would render the position of the enemy less advantageous. Hannibal did not wish so much to take it without a struggle,

(although that was worth his while) as to draw on an occasion of a struggle with Minucius, who he well knew would advance at any instant and oppose him. The whole of the intervening country appeared at first sight useless to one intending to plant an ambuscade, for no part of it was woody or even overrun with thickets; in reality the place was naturally formed for concealing a party in ambush, the more so because no such stratagem could be apprehended in a valley destitute of vegetation. And there were among its windings, caverns of such a size that some could contain two hundred armed men each. Into these recesses five thousand infantry and cavalry were marched and concealed, as many as could conveniently find room in each position. In case however of the movement of some one incautiously emerging, or the glittering of their arms disclosing the stratagem in so open a valley, a few men were sent at daybreak to seize the rising ground which we mentioned before, and thus distracted the enemy's attention. At the first sight of them their numbers excited ridicule, and all claimed for themselves the duty of dislodging the foe. The general in person, among the most stolid and spirited of his troops, called to arms for the capture of the place, and with vain courage and empty threats taunted the enemy. In the first place he despatched in open order his light-armed: after them he sent his cavalry in close formation: lastly, when he perceived that assistance was being sent to the enemy as well, he advanced with his legions drawn up in order of battle. Hannibal likewise, despatching reinforcements of infantry and cavalry, as the battle became more general, one after another to his men when hard pressed, had by this time filled up a regular line of battle, and the battle was going on with the entire strength of both parties. The attack was begun by the Roman light-armed, who moving from lower ground up to a hill which was already invested by the foe, were routed and driven back, struck dismay into the ranks of the cavalry advancing up the hill, and fled back to the standards of the legions. The regular ranks of infantry alone stood fearless amid the panic-stricken, and appeared by no means unlikely, if the battle were fought in regular or straight lines, to prove a match for the enemy; so much confidence had the successful skirmish, fought a few days before, inspired. But the troops in ambush having suddenly sprung up caused such confusion and alarm by

charging both flanks and rear, that no one had spirit enough left to fight, or hope to attempt to fly.

XXIX. Then Fabius, who first heard the shouts of the terrified troops and then perceived in the distance their disordered ranks, said, "It is as I expected: fortune has punished his rashness as quickly as I feared she would: equalled to Fabius in command he finds Hannibal his superior both in military qualities and success. But I will reserve all altercation and resentment for another opportunity: now advance your standards beyond the rampart, Let us wrest victory from the foe, and extort a confession of their error from our countrymen." By this time over a great portion of the field some had been slain, others were looking around for a way to escape, when the line of Fabius was seen coming to the rescue as suddenly as though they had dropped from the sky; accordingly, before they came within a dart's throw, or engaged the foe hand to hand, they stopped the headlong flight of the Romans and checked the vigorous onslaught of the foe. The soldiers, whose ranks were broken and who were dispersed and scattered, fled for refuge from every side to the new and unbroken line: those who had been routed together in large bodies, turned upon the enemy, and concentrating themselves, retired gradually and in order, or halted in close formation. By this time almost one line had been formed out of the vanquished and fresh army and they were advancing their standards upon the foe, when the Carthaginians sounded a retreat, Hannibal openly declaring that Minucius had been conquered by him, he by Fabius. Thus after passing the greater part of the day with varied success, when they had returned into the camp, Minucius called together his soldiers and addressed them—"Soldiers! I have often heard that he is the best man who himself counsels what is advantageous: that he is second best who obeys a wise monitor: but that he who neither knows himself to counsel or to obey another, is of the lowest order of mind. For ourselves, since the first place in wisdom and genius is denied to us, let us hold to the second and intermediate kind: and while we are learning to command let us instil into our minds obedience to the wise. Let us unite our camp with that of Fabius: when we have carried the standards to his tent, as soon as I shall salute him as "Parent," a title which his good services towards us, and his high authority deserve: then shall you, soldiers, salute as "patrons"

those whose goods swords and right-hands just now protected you : and if this day has given us nothing else, it has assuredly conferred on us the glory of having grateful feelings."

XXX. The signal was given, and was immediately followed by a general shout to collect the baggage : they started, and proceeding on their march to the dictator's camp, they changed the feelings of the dictator and all who were around him into admiration. When the standards were arranged before the tribunal, the master of the horse advanced before the rest, and when he had saluted Fabius as "Father," and the entire body of his troops had with one voice saluted the soldiers who surrounded him as "patrons," he said—"Dictator, to my parents (to whom I compared you only in name, which is all my tongue can express) I am indebted for my life only : to you I owe not only my own safety but also that of all these soldiers : the decree of the commons, therefore, onerous to me rather than honourable, I am the first to cancel and annul : and praying for a blessing on you and me, and on these armies now under your command, on preserver and preserved, I return under your authority and auspices, and restore to you these standards and legions. I entreat you to be appeased, and that you would order me to retain my mastership of the horse, and each of these soldiers his own rank." Each then grasped his neighbour's hand, and the soldiers, when the assembly was broken up, were kindly and hospitably entertained by known and unknown friends alike : and that day from being a little while before gloomy in the extreme, and almost accursed was turned into a day of joy. At Rome when the news of the action arrived, and was afterwards confirmed, not more by the letters of the actual commanders than of the common soldiers in both armies, every man according to his ability began to extol Maximus to the skies. His renown was equal with Hannibal, and his enemies the Carthaginians : and now at length they began to feel that they were engaged in war with Romans and in Italy. For two years before, they had so despised Roman generals and soldiers alike, that they scarce believed that they were at war with the same nation, the mighty renown of which they had heard from their fathers. They say that Hannibal, likewise, returning from the field remarked, that at length the cloud which was accustomed to settle on the ridges of the mountains, had burst forth into a shower, accompanied by a storm.

XXXI. While these events occurred in Italy, Cn. Servilius Geminus, the consul, after cruising round the coast of Sardinia and Corsica with a fleet of a hundred and twenty ships, and receiving hostages from both places, crossed over into Africa: but before he made a descent upon the mainland he devastated the island of Meninx, and when he had received ten talents of silver from the inhabitants of Cercina, to save their territory likewise being burnt and plundered, he approached the shores of Africa, and landed his forces. His troops and the marines of the allies were next marched out to lay waste the land, in scattered order, just as though they were getting booty on uninhabited islands. In consequence, they heedlessly fell into an ambuscade, and when they were surrounded, men in straggling order by those in a compact body, men ignorant of the country by those who knew it well, they were driven back, after losing a number of men, in ignominious flight to their ships. As many as one thousand men, together with Sempronius Blassus, the quæstor, were lost, and the fleet, hurridly weighing anchor, from a shore that was crowded with enemies, set sail for Sicily, and was handed over at Lilybæum, to the prætor T. Otacilius, that it might be taken back to Rome by his lieutenant P. Sura. The consul himself proceeded through Sicily on foot and crossed the strait into Italy, being summoned as well as his colleague, M. Atilius, by a despatch from Q. Fabius to receive the armies from him, as his six months' command had now nearly expired. The chronicles of nearly all historians relate that Fabius conducted the war against Hannibal as dictator. Cœlius writes in addition that he was the first dictator elected by the people. But it has escaped Cœlius and the others, that the right of nominating a dictator lay with the consul alone, Cn. Servilius, who was then a long way off in the province of Gaul: and that, because the state, terrified by the recent disaster, was not able to abide the delay, they had recourse to the election by the people, of a magistrate to act as pro-dictator: that his subsequent achievements, his brilliant renown as a general, and the fact of his descendants exaggerating the inscription on his statue, easily brought it to pass that Fabius should be called dictator instead of pro-dictator.

XXXII. The consuls, Atilius and Geminus Servilius, having received their armies, the former that of Fabius, the latter that of Minucius, after fortifying in good time their winter quarters

(it was the end of autumn) carried on the war according to the plans of Fabius with the greatest mutual unanimity. At the right moment they came upon Hannibal in different places, when going out to forage, harassing his march, and intercepting the stragglers: yet they were not inclined to risk a general engagement, which the enemy tried daily by every artifice to bring about: and so straitened was Hannibal by the want of supplies, that had he not feared in retiring at that time the appearance of flight, he would have returned into Gaul, there being no hope left of supporting his army in those quarters, if the consuls of the next year should carry on the war upon the same plan. When the war had been arrested in its progress at Geronium, the winter interrupting it, ambassadors from Neapolis came to Rome. They brought with them into the senate-house forty golden goblets of great weight, and their words were to this effect: "That they were aware that the treasury of the Roman people was being drained by the war: and since it was carried on just as much for the towns and lands of the allies, as for the capital and citadel of Italy,—the city of Rome and its empire, the Neapolitans were of opinion that it was but fair that they should assist the people of Rome with whatever gold had been left them by their ancestors, whether for the adornment of their temples or for the relief of misfortune. If they had thought there were any resources in themselves they would have offered them with the same zeal. The fathers and people of Rome would render a pleasing service to them if they would consider all the goods of the Neapolitans as their own: and if they thought them worthy, they would be pleased at their acceptance of a gift of which the importance and value was increased by the spirit and good will of those who gave it with cheerfulness, rather than by its intrinsic worth." Thanks were voted to the ambassadors for their munificence and attention, and the goblet which was of least weight was accepted.

XXXIII. About the same time a Carthaginian spy, who had eluded capture for two years, was apprehended at Rome, and after his hands had been cut off was set at liberty: five and twenty slaves likewise were crucified for having formed a conspiracy in the Campus Martius. The informer had his freedom granted him, and twenty thousand *asses* of the heavy standard. Ambassadors were sent to Philip, king of the Macedonians, to demand the surrender of Demetrius of Pharos, who after being defeated had fled to his court.

Others again were sent to the Ligurians, to expostulate with them for having assisted the Carthaginians with supplies and native auxiliaries: at the same time to get a nearer view of what was going on among the Boians and Insubrians. Ambassadors were sent likewise to the Illyrians, to their king Pineus, to demand the tribute, the day for payment of which had passed; or, in case he wished to postpone the day, to receive hostages. Thus, though a mighty war was on their shoulders, no attention to any matter in any part of the world, however distant, escaped the notice of the Romans. Again, it was made a matter of superstitious fear, that a Temple of Concord, which had been vowed two years before by the prætor, L. Manlius, during a mutiny of the army in Gaul, had not been contracted for up to that time. Accordingly Cn. Pupius and K. Quintius Flaminius were appointed by M. Æmilius, the city prætor, as decemviri for that purpose, and contracted for the building of the temple in the citadel. The same prætor, agreeable to the decree of the senate, sent a despatch to the consuls, for one of them to come, if they thought fit, to Rome, for the election of consuls; announcing that he would proclaim the meeting for any day they might name. The consuls wrote back word to say that they could not possibly leave the enemy without loss to the state; for which reason they thought that the election should be held by an interrex rather than that one of the consuls should be called away from the war. The Fathers thought it more proper that a dictator should be nominated by one of the consuls to hold the comitia. L. Veturius Philo was nominated, and chose for his master of the horse Manius Pomponius Matho. Some flaw, however, having occurred in their appointment, they were ordered to give up their office on the fourteenth day, and the state returned to an interregnum.

XXXIV. The consuls' authority was continued a year longer: C. Claudius Centho, son of Appius, and then P. Cornelius Asina were appointed interreges by the Fathers. During the interregnum of the latter the comitia were held with a violent contest between the patricians and the commons. C. Terentius Varro, who, as a man of their own order, had been commended to the commons, by declaiming against the patricians, and by his tricks to gain popularity, and who had won a brilliant reputation by the unpopularity of others, by crippling the resources of Q. Fabius and his

dictatorial authority, the mob used all their endeavours to raise even to the consulship; the patricians opposed him with all their might, lest men by inveighing against them should become accustomed to be placed on an equality with them. Q. Bœbius Herennius, a tribune of the commons, and a kinsman of C. Terentius, tried to gain favour for his own candidate by accusing not merely the senate but even the augurs for having prevented the dictator from completing the election, and by thus bringing odium upon them. He asserted that Hannibal had been brought into Italy by the nobility, who had for many years been desirous of a war: that that war was being protracted by the intrigues of the same persons, whereas it could be brought to an end. That it was evident the war could be maintained with four legions of soldiers in all, from the fact that M. Minucius had fought with success in the absence of Fabius: that two legions had been thrown in the enemy's way to be cut to pieces, and then they had been rescued from actual butchery, that the man who had prevented the Romans from conquering before he delivered them from defeat, might be saluted as father and patron. Subsequently the consuls had protracted the war by the artifices of Fabius, when they might have brought it to a conclusion. This was a covenant agreed upon among all the nobles: nor would they ever have the war concluded until they had elected a consul really a plebeian, that is, a new man. For the plebeian nobles had already been initiated into the same mysteries, and had begun to look with contempt upon the commonalty, from the moment they ceased to be despised by the patricians. Who could not plainly see that their end and object was to enter upon an interregnum, so that the elections should be under the influence of the patricians? That was what both the consuls had had in view in tarrying with the army: afterwards, because, contrary to their wishes, a dictator had been appointed to hold the comitia, they had carried it, as it were by storm, that they should get the augurs to declare the dictator informally elected. Thus had they brought about an interregnum. One consulship assuredly was in the hands of the commons of Rome: the people would have it at their free disposal, and would confer it upon the man who preferred rather to conquer in reality than to lengthen the term of his command.

XXXV. When the commons had been inflamed by these
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harangues, though there were three patrician candidates, P. Cornelius Merenda, L. Manlius Vulso, and M. Æmilius Lepidus, and two candidates of plebeian families who had now been ennobled, C. Atilius Serranus, and Q. Ælius Pæstus, of whom one was a pontiff the other an augur, C. Terentius alone was elected consul, that the comitia for electing his colleague, might be in his hands. Then the nobles finding that their rival candidates had not sufficient strength, compelled L. Æmilius Paullus, an enemy to the commons, though for a long time he stoutly refused to stand, to become a candidate. He had been consul with M. Livius, and by the condemnation of his colleague and almost of himself, had escaped not altogether unscathed from the fiery ordeal. On the next election day, when all the candidates who had stood against Varro, retired in his favour, he was given to the consul rather as a match to oppose him than as a colleague. The prætorian comitia were next held, and Manius Pomponius Matho, and P. Furius Philus were elected. The duty of administering justice to the citizens of Rome fell to the lot of Pomponius, between Roman citizens and foreigners to P. Furius Philus. Two prætors were added, M. Claudius Marcellus was sent into Sicily, Lucius Postumius Albinus into Gaul. All these were appointed in their absence: nor was any of them, except the consul Terentius, entrusted with an office which he had not already held before, several worthy and energetic men being passed over, because at such a crisis it seemed advisable that no office should be entrusted to any one for the first time.

XXXVI. The number of armies likewise was increased: yet there is such a conflict of statements among authors, as to the number and nature of the forces, both horse and foot, which were now added, that I can scarcely venture to assert anything as positively certain. Some assert that ten thousand recruits were entered to fill up their losses: others, that four new legions were enrolled, so that they might carry on the war with eight legions: further that the legions were increased by a certain number of horse and foot, one thousand foot and one hundred horse being added to each, so that they consisted each of five thousand foot, and three hundred horse: and that the allies furnished double the number of horse, and an equal number of infantry: some others affirm that there were eighty seven thousand two hundred armed men in the *Roman camp* when the battle was fought near Cannæ. On this point

there is no disagreement of opinion whatever, that the war was prosecuted with greater efforts and energy than in former years; as the dictator had given rise to the hope that the enemy could be conquered. Before, however, the new legions began to move their standards from the city, the decemviri were ordered to approach and examine the sacred books, on account of men having been generally alarmed by strange prodigies. For it had been reported that it had rained stones both on the Aventine at Rome, and at Aricia about the same time: that statues in the Sabine territory had sweated blood copiously,—a sign of slaughter,—that the waters had flowed hot from the fountain. This latter prodigy also caused greater terror as it had frequently occurred: again in the Colonnade, near the Campus Martius, several persons had been struck by lightning from heaven and killed. Purifications for these portents were performed in accordance with the directions of the books. Ambassadors from Pæstum brought some golden goblets to Rome: thanks were voted them as to the Neapolitans, but the gold was not accepted.

XXXVII. About the same time a fleet from Hiero arrived at Ostia with a large cargo of supplies. The Syracusan ambassadors being introduced into the senate, announced that king Hiero had been so deeply grieved to hear the news of the death of the consul, C. Flaminius, and the destruction of his army, that he could not have been more moved by any disaster affecting his own power or his own kingdom. Accordingly, although he was well aware that the greatness of the Roman people was almost more extraordinary in adversity than in prosperity, yet he had sent them everything by which good and faithful allies can assist their friends in war, which he earnestly implored the conscript Fathers not to refuse to accept. First of all, for the sake of the omen, they were now bringing a golden statue of Victory, of three hundred and twenty pounds' weight, which they begged them to accept, keep by them, and hold as their own for ever. They had brought likewise three hundred thousand measures of wheat, two hundred thousand of barley, that there might be no want of provisions: and any further supplies that were required they would convey to any spot the Fathers might appoint. King Hiero is aware that the Roman people does not employ either legionary troops or cavalry except Romans or of the Latin name: but that he had seen auxiliaries of light-armed troops, consisting of foreigners, likewise in the Roman camp. Accordingly, he had sent one thousand

archers and slingers, a suitable force to act against the Baliares and Mauri, and other nations which fought with missile weapons. To these presents the ambassadors added likewise a word of advice, that the prætor, to whose lot the province of Sicily had fallen, should conduct a fleet over into Africa: so that the enemy also, might find a war in their own land, and less liberty be afforded them of sending assistance to Hannibal. The senate returned the following answer to the king: that Hiero was a worthy man and a right noble ally, and had consistently kept faith from the day he had entered into friendship with the Roman people, and had munificently assisted the Roman cause, at all times and in all places; the Roman people felt all due gratitude for this. The Roman people had not accepted the gold, which had likewise been brought them by certain states, while acknowledging the kindness of the act. They would accept the statue of Victory, and the omen: and they would give and dedicate for the future habitation of the goddess, the Capitol, the temple of Jupiter, best and greatest: hoping that when consecrated in that citadel of the city of Rome, with her own gracious consent, she would continue there, the firm and lasting friend of the Roman people. The slingers, archers, and the corn were handed over to the consuls. Five and twenty quinqueres were added to the fleet of ships which were with T. Otacilius, the pro-prætor, in Sicily; and permission was given him to cross over into Africa, if he deemed it for the interests of the commonwealth.

XXXVIII. The levy completed, the consuls waited a day or two, until the allies from the Latin name arrived. At this time, the soldiers were sworn in by the military tribunes, which had never been done before, to assemble at the command of the consuls, and not to leave without their permission; for up to that time, the military oath only had been employed: and when they had met to divide into decuries or centuries, the cavalry being formed into decuries and the infantry into centuries, they used to take a voluntary oath among themselves, that they would not leave or retire from their ranks for flight or fear, except to take or fetch a weapon, or strike a foe, or save a countryman. This was converted by the tribunes from a voluntary compact between the soldiers themselves, into a formal imposition of an oath. The consul, Varro, before the standards were moved from the city, made several speeches of a warlike and denunciatory character,

that he would finish the war (which had been invited into Italy by the nobles, and would remain in the heart of the commonwealth if they employed any more generals like Fabius) on the very day he got sight of the enemy. His colleague Paullus made but one address, on the day before they left the city, more true though less popular, in which he made no strictures on Varro, save this one only, that he wondered how any general before he knew either his own, or the forces of the enemy, the situation of the places, or the character of the country, even now while in the city could know what he must do when in arms, and could even foretell the day when he would fight the enemy with standards advanced to the charge. "As for myself," he added, "I will not anticipate prematurely those measures which circumstances impose on men, rather than men on circumstances. My prayer is that all cautious and deliberate proceedings may turn out as prosperously as expected: rashness, setting aside its folly, has hitherto proved also disastrous." On the very face of his address it was evident that he would prefer safe to hasty counsels: and that he might persevere in this course with greater steadiness, Q. Fabius Maximus is said to have thus addressed him on his departure.

XXXIX. "Had you a colleague, L. Æmilius, (and this I should prefer above all things,) such another as yourself, or were you like your colleague, my address would be a mere waste of words. For were you both worthy consuls you would perform all that the interests of the republic required, even though I held my peace: and were you unworthy consuls, you would neither give ear to my words, or attend to my advice. As it is, when I look at your colleague and see you the man you are, all my remarks shall be addressed to you: for I perceive you will prove yourself a worthy man and a good citizen to no purpose, if on the other hand the state be found wanting. Pernicious measures will have the same force and authority as good measures. For you are mistaken, L. Paullus, if you suppose you will have an easier struggle with C. Terentius than with Hannibal: I am not sure whether Terentius as your opponent, will not remain a more galling foe, than Hannibal as your enemy; with the latter you will have to contend in the field only, with the former in all places and at all seasons: against Hannibal moreover, and his legions you must fight with horse and foot under your own command. Varro is a general who

will oppose you with your own soldiers. If it were only for the omen's sake, banish from your mind the memory of C. Flaminius: yet his madness began not till he was consul, in his province, with his army. This man before he stood for the consulship, afterwards while canvassing for it, and now too as consul, before he sees the camp or the enemy, begins his raving: and he who by talking largely of fighting and battles, rouses such storms as he has just now done among peaceful citizens, what do you suppose will be the effect on a body of young and armed men, and when his words are at once followed by action? But if Terentius, as in his speeches he threatens to do, shall immediately bring on an engagement, it is either I who am ignorant of military tactics, with this kind of warfare, and this our enemy, or else some other spot will become more famous than Trasimene from our disasters. This is no occasion for vain glorious speeches in the presence of a single individual, and I may have transgressed the bounds of reason by despising rather than by coveting glory. But since this is the fact, the only course of carrying on the war against Hannibal is that which I have adopted: nor does the result only (that is, it which teaches fools) show this, but the same reasoning which has continued hitherto, and will continue unchangeable so long as the world remains the same. We are carrying on a war in Italy, in our own country, and our own soil: the surrounding country swarms with our citizens, and our allies: with arms, men, horses, supplies, they assist us and will continue to do so: such proofs of their loyalty have they already given in our misfortunes: every day's delay, makes us better, wiser, and braver. Hannibal, on the other hand, is in a foreign and hostile country, surrounded on all sides by hostility and opposition, far from home, far from his native land: nor has he peace by sea or by land: no cities, no walled forts receive him: he sees nothing anywhere he can call his own: he lives from day to day on plunder. He has scarcely a third part of the army which he led across the Iberus: famine has destroyed more than the sword: and for the few who survive, he has no longer sufficient means of life. Do you doubt, therefore, but that by a cautious policy we shall conquer one whose strength is waning every day: one who has neither supplies, reinforcements, or money? How long has he been lying before the walls of Geronium, a poor fortress in Apulia, as though they

were the walls of Carthage? But I will not boast even in your presence. See how Cn. Servilius, and Atilius, the consuls of last year, befooled him. This is the only path of safety, L. Paullus, and one which your countrymen will render more difficult and galling to themselves than their enemies will. For your own soldiers will wish for the same thing as those of the enemy; Varro, a consul of Rome, will desire the same thing as Hannibal, a general of Carthage; you must resist the two generals single handed; but you will resist them if you have courage to stand unmoved against the talk and slanders of men; if neither the vain glory of your colleague, nor the false aspersions heaped upon yourself, shall affect you. They say that truth too often suffers eclipse, but is never annihilated. He who despises glory, will have it genuine. Let them call you coward when you are cautious, sluggish when considerate, unwarlike when you are a skilful general. I had rather a wise enemy should fear you, than foolish countrymen commend you. Hannibal will despise a man who ventures on every risk, he will fear one who does nothing rashly. Far be it from me to advise you to do nothing; but that in what you do, reason should be your guide, not fortune, that everything may be always at your own disposal, and your own. Be armed and watchful, and do not miss your opportunity, nor give an opportunity to the enemy which he will make his own. All will be clear and sure to the man who is not in a hurry. Precipitation sees not before it, and is blind."

XI. The consul's address in reply was certainly a sorrowful one, for he confessed that Fabius' words were true rather than easy to put in practice. The dictator allowed that his master of the horse had been unbearable to him, and what strength or authority will a consul have against a colleague factious and headstrong? "I escaped," said he, "the fire of popular indignation in my former consulate, merely singed; my prayer is that all things may turn out prosperously. But if any misfortune happens I will expose my life to the weapons of the foe, rather than to the votes of my enraged countrymen." After this conversation they say that Paullus set forth, escorted by the principal senators. The plebeian consul was attended by his own friends, the rabble, who presented a more imposing appearance from their numbers than their respectability. When they arrived in the camp, the

recruits and the veterans were all mixed up together, and two camps were formed, so that the new camp being the smaller of the two, was nearer to Hannibal, while in the old camp was stationed the majority and all the flower of their forces. After this, of the consuls of the year before, they sent M. Atilius to Rome, on the plea of his age: Geminus Servilius was appointed to the command of a Roman legion and two thousand horse and foot of the allies in the smaller camp. Hannibal, although he began to see that the enemy's forces were increased by one half, was yet wonderfully rejoiced at the arrival of the consuls: for not only was there nothing left, from supplies obtained by plunder from day to day, but there was not even anything remaining to seize in any quarter, all the corn in the surrounding district having been conveyed into fortified towns, when the country was too unsafe: so that there scarce remained corn enough for ten days (as was afterwards found out), while the Spaniards were prepared to come over to the Romans from sheer want of food, if they had waited till the time was ripe for a blow.

XLI. But fortune likewise gave the consul an opportunity of displaying his rashness and headstrong character, for in checking the plundering parties, a battle was brought on of a confused nature, and occasioned rather by a sudden charge of the soldiers, than by a preconcerted plan or the command of the generals, and the contest was far from being maintained with equal success by the Carthaginians. As many as seventeen hundred were killed, though not more than a hundred of the Romans and the allies were slain. But the consul Paullus restrained the victorious troops in their disorderly pursuit, fearing an ambuscade. It was his day of command, for they held the command on alternate days. Varro was indignant and loudly exclaimed that they had let the enemy slip through their hands, and that the war might have been brought to a close, if the movement had not been stopped. Hannibal was not very much grieved at that loss, but rather thought that it would act as a bait to the rashness of the more spirited consul, and especially to the recruits: besides all the circumstances of the enemy were known to him, just as well as his own: that the commanders differed in temper and quarrelled between themselves, and that almost two-thirds of the troops in the army consisted of recruits. Accordingly, thinking that he

had an opportunity of time and place, well suited for an ambuscade, the following night he led his troops away, carrying nothing with them but their arms, and left the camp filled with all their treasures, both public and private property. Leading them across the neighbouring mountains, he concealed his infantry drawn up on the left, the cavalry on the right, and his heavy baggage, forming the central column, he led through the valley, in order that he might pounce upon the enemy while occupied in plundering the camp, deserted as it would seem by the flight of its owners, and while encumbered with booty. Fires were left in many places in the camp, in order to create the belief by the false semblance of a camp, that he wished to keep the consuls at their post while he himself was gaining time to escape to some greater distance, a stratagem similar to that with which he had deceived Fabius the year before.

XLII. At daybreak some surprise was occasioned by the withdrawal of the enemy's picquets, then on a nearer approach, the unusual stillness. When it was ascertained beyond a doubt that the camp was empty, a general rush took place to the tents of the consuls, while they announced the flight of the enemy so precipitate, that they had left their camp with their tents standing: and that their flight might be the more secret, fires had been likewise left in many places. This announcement was followed by a shout that the generals should give the order for advance, lead them out to pursue the enemy, and plunder the camp at once. One of the consuls acted like one of the military rabble. Again and again did Paullus cry that they must exercise foresight and precaution. At last, when he could in no other way prevent a mutiny or check its ringleader, he despatched Marius Statilius, a præfect, with a squadron of Lucanian horse to reconnoitre. When he had ridden up to the gates, he ordered the rest to stay without the works while he himself entered the entrenchment with two horsemen. After a thorough and careful inspection, he brought back word that undoubtedly it was an ambuscade: the fires had been left in the part of the camp which fronted the enemy: the tents were open, and all articles of value had been left ready in the way: silver-plate he had seen in some places lying scattered about, as if laid there for plunder. This intelligence, which it was hoped would deter their minds from their greediness, only served to inflame them: and when a shout arose from the soldiers that unless

the signal was given they would advance without leaders, a leader did not fail to second their wishes. For Varro without a moment's hesitation gave the order for the march. Paullus was himself inclined to hesitate, and when the sacred chickens, on being consulted, likewise refused their assent, he ordered the evil omen to be reported to his colleague who was just moving his standards beyond the camp: and although Varro was very much annoyed, yet the recent fate of Flaminius, and the naval disaster of the consul Claudius in the first Punic war, which he was reminded of, impressed his mind deeply with a feeling of religious awe. An event little short of the personal intervention of the gods occurred that day to defer, if not to prevent the curse which hung over the Romans. For it fell out by accident that when the soldiers were not for obeying the consul to return into the camp, two slaves, the one belonging to a horseman of Formiæ, the other to a Sidicinian knight, who had been cut off by the Numidians with other foragers, when Servilius and Atilius were consuls, were making their escape on that day to their masters: these slaves, being brought before the consuls, announced that the entire army of Hannibal was lying in ambush on the other side of the adjoining mountains. The seasonable arrival of these men established the authority of both the consuls, at a time when the self-seeking policy of one of them had already succeeded in lowering his high dignity in the estimation of the soldiers, by his pernicious compliance with their wishes.

XLIII. Hannibal, perceiving that the Romans had moved in a thoughtless moment, but had not been rashly led out into any extreme steps, returned to his camp without effecting anything, as his stratagem was discovered. There he could not remain many days in consequence of the scarcity of corn: and treasonable designs suggested themselves from day to day, not merely to the soldiers, composed as they were of a motley conflux from all nations, but even to the mind of the general himself. For when murmurs were first heard, followed by loud and open complaints, the soldiers insisting on the payment of arrears, and protesting first against the price of corn, and then against their famishing conditions: and when a report was spread that the mercenary troops, particularly the Spanish, entertained the design of going over to the enemy: Hannibal himself also, it is said, at times contemplated escaping into Gaul, and after abandoning all his infantry, to make a dash for it with

his cavalry. Such being the designs, and such the state of feeling in the camp, he now determined to move into a part of Apulia which is warmer, and therefore earlier in its crops: at the same time that desertion might be more difficult to the wavering, the further he retired from the enemy. He set out by night, after kindling fires as before, and leaving a few tents to make an appearance, in order that the Romans might be restrained by their fear of an ambuscade similar to the last. But when it was reported by the same Lucanian Statilius, who had reconnoitred every spot beyond the camp, and on the other side of the mountains, that he had seen the enemy marching in the distance, the plans were again discussed for following on his track. Both the consuls maintained the same opinions as on all previous occasions: but almost everyone supported Varro, nobody Paullus, except Servilius the late consul: and thus adopting the opinion of the majority, they set out under the impulse of destiny to render Cannæ celebrated by a Roman disaster. Near that hamlet Hannibal had pitched his camp, with his back to the wind Vulturnus, which raises clouds of dust from plains parched with drought. This circumstance was not only very advantageous to their actual encampment, but would be very beneficial to them when forming their line; they were not exposed to it, for the wind blew only on their backs, while they would fight the enemy blinded by the dust blown in their faces.

XLIV. When the consuls, after carefully exploring the roads, following the track of the Carthaginians, arrived at Cannæ, where they kept the enemy in view, they fortified two camps nearly the same distance apart as before Geronium, after first dividing their forces as before. The river Aufidus, which flowed by both camps, afforded approach for watering parties as the occasion of each side required, though not without giving rise to skirmishes. The Romans in the smaller camp, however, which had been pitched on the other side of the Aufidus, had less difficulty in watering, because the further bank had no guard of the enemy. Hannibal, entertaining a hope that the consuls would give him an opportunity for fighting in a place naturally formed for a cavalry action, in which arm of his forces he had never been conquered, drew out his line, and harassed the enemy by a sudden charge of his Numidians. Upon this the Roman camp again began to be embroiled by a mutiny among the soldiers, and the disagreement of the consuls:

Paullus kept holding up to Varro the rashness of Sempronius and Flaminius, Varro the plausible example of Fabius to cowardly and sluggish generals: while the latter called gods and men to witness, that no part of the blame attached to him, that Hannibal had now become the lord, as it were, of Italy: that he was held bound by his colleague: that their swords and arms were being taken out of the hands of the soldiers, enraged and eager for the fight: while Paullus declared, that if any disaster should happen to the legions, exposed and betrayed into an ill-advised and imprudent battle, he would be exempt from any blame, though a sharer in all the consequences. That he must take care that their hands were equally energetic in battle whose tongues were so ready and impetuous.

XLV. While the time was being wasted in altercation rather than in deliberating, Hannibal, as he was leading the rest of his forces back into his camp, detached his Numidians from the line, which he had kept drawn up till late in the day, to attack a watering party of the Romans from the smaller camp across the river. Having routed this disorderly rabble by shouting and tumult, before they had well reached the bank, they advanced as far as an outpost likewise, stationed in front of the rampart, and near the very gates of the camp. Great was their indignation that even a Roman camp should be terrified by irregular auxiliaries: so that this reason alone kept back the Romans from crossing the river forthwith, and forming their line, viz.: that on that day Paullus held the chief command. Accordingly Varro on the next day, on which day it was his lot to command, without consulting his colleague at all, displayed the signal for battle, and forming his troops, led them across the river; Paullus followed, because he could better disapprove of the plan than refuse his assistance. After crossing the river, they united to their forces those which they had had in the smaller camp, and their line being thus formed, they placed the Roman cavalry on the right wing, (which was nearer the river) and next the infantry; on the extreme left wing, the cavalry of the allies; within them the infantry, extending to the centre and contiguous to the Roman legions, held their position. The first line was formed of the darters, with the rest of the light-armed auxiliaries. The consuls commanded the wings, Terentius the left, Æmilius the right: Geminus Servilius was entrusted with maintaining the battle in the centre.

XLVI. Hannibal, at break of day, after sending forward the *Baliares* and other light-armed troops, crossed the river, and began

to draw up his men in line, as he had conveyed them across. The Gallic and Spanish cavalry he placed near the bank on the left wing, to oppose the Roman cavalry: the right wing was assigned to the Numidian cavalry, and the centre of the line was strengthened by the infantry: so that each wing consisted of Africans, between which were placed Gauls and Spaniards. You would think that the Africans were for the most part Romans drawn up in line, they were so completely equipped with arms which they had captured at the Trebia, though chiefly at Trasimenus. The shields of the Gauls and Spaniards were usually of the same shape, but their swords were different in length and form: the Gauls had very long swords and without points; but the Spaniards, accustomed to attack the enemy by stabbing rather than cutting, wore swords convenient from their shortness and with points. More than all others the aspect of these nations, whether as regards the size of their bodies or their appearance, was terrific. The Gauls were naked above the navel: the Spaniards had taken up their position arrayed in linen tunics bordered with purple, and shining with extraordinary whiteness. The whole number of infantry which then stood in line, was forty thousand, and ten thousand cavalry. The generals who commanded the wings were Hasdrubal on the left, and Maharbal on the right: the centre was commanded by Hannibal in person with his brother Mago. The sun very conveniently shone obliquely upon both parties, the Romans facing the south, and the Carthaginians the north, whether purposely placed in that way or because they chanced so to take up their position. The wind, called by the inhabitants of the district, Vulturnus, blew in the face of the Romans, and by rolling clouds of dust against their faces prevented them from seeing before them.

XLVII. The battle cry being raised the auxiliaries charged, and the fight was first begun by the light-armed troops: then the left wing, consisting of the Gaulish and Spanish cavalry, engaged with the Roman right, by no means after the manner of a cavalry action: for they had to engage front to front, because as there was no space left around for evolution, on one side the river and on the other the line of infantry hemmed them in, both sides forcing their way directly forward. At length the horses standing still and closely packed together, man grappled with man and tried to drag him from his horse. The contest now began to be

carried on principally on foot: the battle however was more violent than lasting, and the Roman cavalry were defeated and fled. Towards the end of the cavalry action the battle between the infantry commenced: at first the Gauls and Spaniards, not unequal in strength or courage, preserved their ranks unbroken: at last the Romans after long and repeated efforts, with their well dressed front and compact line, drove in the wedge-shaped body of the enemy, which projected from the rest of the line, and was too thin and therefore deficient in strength: when they were driven back and were hastily retreating, the Romans then pressed them closely: and dashing without stopping through the column of fugitives as they rushed along in headlong flight, they were borne first on to the centre line, and at last meeting with no resistance, they reached in safety the African reserves. These were posted on both flanks, in the wings which had been thrown back, while the centre, where the Gauls and Spaniards were placed, projected a little. When the wedge of men thus formed after being driven in at first rendered the front level, but afterwards by the pressure had formed even a bend in the centre, the Africans had now made wings on each side of the Romans, and when these latter rushed heedlessly into the middle, the African wings outflanked them: presently, by extending their flanks they hemmed in the enemy in the rear also. Upon this the Romans, after having gained one battle to no purpose, leaving the Gauls and Spaniards whose rear they had slaughtered, began a fresh encounter with the Africans likewise, not only on unequal terms, owing to the fact that hemmed in as they were they had to fight with those who surrounded them, but also because they were fatigued and had to engage with fresh and vigorous troops.

XLVIII. By this time on the Roman left wing also, where the cavalry of the allies was stationed to oppose the Numidians, the battle had been begun, languidly at first, and opened with a Carthaginian stratagem. About five hundred Numidians, with swords concealed beneath their coats of mail, in addition to their usual arms and darts, had ridden up from their own party under the semblance of deserters, with their shields behind their backs, and suddenly sprang from their horses to the ground: after throwing their shields and javelins at the feet of their enemies they were received into the middle of the line, and being

conducted to the hindmost rank were ordered to remain quiet in the rear: while the engagement went on from every part of the line they remained peaceable: but when the struggle had engaged the attention and eyes of everyone, seizing the shields which were everywhere lying about among the heaps of dead bodies, they fell upon the rear of the Roman line; and striking their backs and wounding their hams, occasioned great havoc, and still greater panic and confusion. While in one quarter terror and flight, in another an obstinate but now desperate battle was carried on: Hasdrubal, who was in command of that part of the field, despatched some Numidians whom he had withdrawn from the centre, as their conflict with their opponents was but slight, to pursue the scattered fugitives: and united the Spanish and Gaulish infantry to the Africans, who by this time were almost worn out with killing rather than with fighting.

XLIX. On the other side of the field Paullus, although at the very first onset he had been severely wounded by a sling, not only frequently opposed Hannibal with a compact body of troops, but in several places restored the battle, while the Roman cavalry protected him: at last they left their horses, because the consul's strength began to fail even for managing his charger. After this, when an orderly announced that the consul had ordered the cavalry to dismount and fight on foot, Hannibal, it is said, remarked, "How much rather would I that he were handing them over to me in chains!" The struggle of the cavalry fighting on foot was nobly maintained, considering the victory was by this time beyond a doubt in the enemy's hands: the conquered preferring death where they stood, to flight, the conquerors, enraged at them for delaying the victory, cutting those to pieces whom they could not put to flight: at length, however, they drove away the few who now survived, weary with their toils and their wounds. After this they were all dispersed, and such as were able, sought to regain their horses for flight. Cn. Lentulus, a military tribune, riding past saw the consul sitting on a stone, and all covered with blood. "L. Æmilius," said he, "the only man whom the gods ought to regard as innocent of the fault of this day's disaster, take this horse, while to you too any strength remains: I am near you and can lift you up and protect you: do not make this day more fatal by the death of a consul; even without this we have enough of

tears and lamentation." To this the consul replied, "To thee, indeed, Cn. Cornelius, I bid god-speed; but beware lest in fruitless commiseration you waste the little time there is left for escaping out of the enemy's hands. Away! tell in public the Fathers to fortify the city of Rome, and to garrison it strongly ere the victorious enemy approach: and tell Q. Fabius in private that L. Æmilius lived and now dies mindful of his precepts. Let me draw my last breath amid these heaps of my slaughtered soldiers, that I may not a second time be accused after my consulship, or stand forth the accuser of my colleague to protect my own innocence by criminating another." While struggling with these words, first a crowd their of flying countrymen, then the enemy came suddenly upon them: ignorant who he was, they overwhelmed the consul with their weapons: Lentulus amid the confusion was saved by the speed of his horse. After that they were scattered and fled. Seven thousand men made good their escape into the smaller camp, ten thousand to the larger one, about two thousand into the actual hamlet of Cannæ, who were immediately surrounded by Carthalo and his cavalry, no fortifications protecting the village. The other consul, whether by accident or design was not opposed by any body of the fugitives, and escaped in safety with about seventy horsemen to Venusia. Forty thousand infantry, two thousand seven hundred cavalry, being nearly an equal number of citizens and allies, are said to have been killed. Among these, both the quæstors of the consuls, L. Atilius and L. Furius Bibaculus; twenty-one military tribunes; several who had passed the offices of consul, prætor, and ædile,—among them are mentioned Cn. Servilius Geminus, and M. Minucius who had been master of the horse the year before, and consul several years earlier: besides these, eighty who were either senators or had borne those offices which qualified them for being chosen members of the senate, and who had voluntarily enrolled themselves as private soldiers in the legions. It is said that three thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry were taken prisoners in that battle.

L. Such was the battle of Cannæ, equal in celebrity to the disaster on the Allia: but as it was less important in respect to its results, because the enemy did not follow up the blow, so by the slaughter of the army was it of greater consequence and

more horrible. For the rout at the Allia, though it put the city in the enemy's hands, yet it did not destroy the army: but at Cannæ the flying consul was scarce followed by seventy men, and almost the entire army shared the fate of the other who died. The troops in the two camps being a half-armed crowd without leaders, those in the larger camp despatched a messenger to tell those in the smaller camp to cross over to them while the repose of night oppressed the enemy, worn out with fighting and now in their joy overpowered with feasting: that they would go in one body to Canusium. Some entirely disapproved of this advice. Why did not those who sent for them come themselves when they could just as easily effect a junction? because it was evident that all the intervening space was crowded with enemies; and they had rather expose other men's bodies than their own to so great a danger. Others again did not so much disapprove of the plan as they were wanting in courage to put it in practice. P. Sempronius Tuditanus, a military tribune, said, "Would you rather then be captured by a most rapacious and cruel enemy, and have a price set on your heads, and your value ascertained by men asking you whether you are Roman citizens or Latin allies, to gain honour for others from your indignities and misfortunes? Not you, at least if you are fellow-countrymen of L. Æmilius, the consul, who preferred an honourable death to a life of infamy, and of so many bravest men, who are lying in heaps around him. But before light comes upon us, and larger bodies of the enemy beset the road, let us force our way through these disorderly and irregular troops who are clamouring at our gates: good swords and stout hearts make a way through foes, however dense. In a wedge shape we will pass through this loose and disjointed body, as though nothing opposed us. Come then along with me, you who wish to save yourselves and the republic." With these words he drew his sword, and forming a wedge, he passed through the middle of the enemy: and as the Numidians kept discharging their javelins against their right side, which was exposed, they transferred their shields to their right, and escaped to the larger camp as many as six hundred: and thence setting out without a moment's delay, after another large body had united with them, they arrived in safety at Canusium. These proceedings among the conquered were being brought about rather by the impulse of their feel-

ings, which every man's character or accident afforded, than in consequence of any plan of their own, or the authority of any man.

LI. When his generals flocked round the victorious Hannibal and were congratulating him, advising him that after finishing so great a war he should take the remainder of the day and the following night for repose for himself, and grant it to his exhausted troops: Maharbal the commander of the cavalry thought they ought by no means to stop. "Nay," said he, "that you may know what has been achieved by this battle, in five days you shall feast in triumph in the Capitol. Follow me: I will go first with the cavalry to let them know that I have come, before they know that I intend to come." To Hannibal this project appeared too joyful, and too great for his mind to embrace it at the moment. Accordingly he said he praised the zeal of Maharbal, but it required time to weigh the merits of the plan. Upon this Maharbal observed, "of a truth the gods do not give the same man everything: you know how to gain a victory, Hannibal, but you do not know how to make use of it." That day's delay is firmly believed to have saved the city and the empire. The next morning as soon as ever it was daylight they set about gathering the spoils, and viewing the carnage which was horrible even to enemies: so many thousand Romans were lying, on every side, horse and foot, as chance had brought each couple together in the battle or the pursuit. Some rose up from the midst of the heaps of dead all covered with blood, having been roused by their wounds which were stiffened with the morning cold, and were overpowered by the enemy. Some too were found lying alive with their thighs and hams cut, and laying bare their necks and throats they bade them likewise drink the blood that was left. Some were discovered with their heads plunged into the earth that they had excavated, which it appeared they had made with their own hands as pits for themselves, and burying their faces with the earth which they threw over them stopped their breath. But what especially attracted the attention of all, was a Numidian, alive, and stretched beneath the dead body of a Roman who lay upon him, and with his nose and ears lacerated: for the Roman, when his hands became powerless to grasp his weapon, turning from rage to madness, had breathed his last in the act of tearing his antagonist with his teeth.

LII. After collecting the spoils until late in the day, Hannibal led his troops to assault the smaller camp, and first of all by interposing a trench, he cut them off from the river. But worn out as they were with toil, watching and wounds, they all surrendered sooner than he expected. They agreed to deliver up their arms and horses, on the condition that the ransom of each Roman should be three hundred denarii, two hundred for an ally, one hundred for a slave, and that on the payment of that sum they should be allowed to depart with one coat each: on these conditions they were received into the enemy's camp, and were all handed over into custody, the citizens and allies being kept separate. While the time was being spent here, meanwhile all who had strength or spirit enough, to the number of four thousand men, and two hundred horsemen made good their escape from the larger camp to Canusium, some in a body, others straggling through the fields, which was no less secure a course: and the actual camp was surrendered to the enemy by the wounded and panic-stricken troops on the same terms as the other one. A great booty was obtained, and with the exception of the horses and men and what silver-plate there was, (of which there was a large quantity on the trappings of the horses, for they used very little silver wrought into dinner-services, particularly in a campaign,) all the remaining spoil was given up to be plundered. He next ordered the bodies of his own soldiers to be collected in a heap for burial: they are said to have been as many as eight thousand of his bravest men. Some authors relate that they carefully sought out and buried the body of the Roman consul likewise. Those who escaped to Canusium were received by the inhabitants within their walls merely and under their roofs, but an Apulian lady named Busa, distinguished for her quality and wealth, assisted them with corn, clothes, and provision for their journey as well: for which splendid entertainment the senate afterwards, on the completion of the war, conferred honours upon her.

LIII. To proceed, although there were four military tribunes on the spot, Fabius Maximus of the first legion, whose father had been dictator in a former year, and L. Publicius Bibulus and P. Cornelius Scipio of the second legion, and Ap. Claudius Pulcher of the third legion, who had been ædile the year before, yet P. Scipio, although quite a youth, and Ap. Claudius were

unanimously elected to the command in chief. While they were deliberating with a few others on the crisis of the state, P. Furius Philus, the son of a man of consular rank, announced to them that it was useless for them to cherish hopes that were already ruined: that the republic had been despaired of, and lamented as lost: that certain young men, under the leadership of L. Cæcilius Metellus, were turning their eyes towards the sea and the fleet, intending to leave Italy to its fate, and desert to the service of some king or other. When this calamity, which, setting aside its monstrosity, was a new woe added to so many disasters, had struck them motionless with stupor and astonishment, and when those who were present were giving their opinion that a council ought to be summoned to discuss the subject, young Scipio, the destined general of the war, declared that the matter required no council. "We must do and dare," said he, "not take counsel, in so great a crisis: let those who wish the safety of the commonwealth come with me immediately in arms: nowhere is it more truly the enemy's camp, than where such designs are meditated." At once he set off, followed by a few others, to the lodging of Metellus: and when he had found there the council of youths of which he had been apprized, he drew his sword and held it over their heads as they sat deliberating, and said—"On my word of honour I swear that I will never desert the commonwealth of the Roman people, nor will I suffer any Roman citizen to do so. If knowingly I break my oath, then Jupiter, supremely good and great, mayest thou visit my house, my family, my fortunes, with perdition the most horrible! I require you, L. Cæcilius, and the rest of you who are here present, to take this oath: and let him who refuses to do so, know that this sword has been drawn against himself." Terrified as though they saw the conqueror Hannibal, they all took the oath, and delivered themselves to Scipio to be kept in custody.

LIV. During the time in which these things were going on at Canusium, as many as four thousand infantry and cavalry, who had been dispersed through the fields in the flight, came in safety to Venusia, to the consul. The entire number was distributed by the townspeople among their households, to be kindly entertained and provided for, and each soldier was presented with a toga, a tunic, and twenty-five denarii; to each foot soldier ten

denarii, and such arms as they wanted. Other marks likewise of public and private hospitality were shown them, vieing one with another, that the people of Venusia might not be surpassed by a woman of Canusium in kind offices. But the great number of her guests made the burden more oppressive to Busa, for they were now amounting to ten thousand men. Appius and Scipio, when they heard that the other consul was in safety, immediately sent a messenger to enquire what forces of infantry and cavalry he had with him: and at the same time to ask whether it was his pleasure that the army should be brought to Venusia, or remain at Canusium. Varro in person led his forces over to Canusium, and already there was some appearance of a consular army, and they began to show signs as though they meant to defend themselves without a doubt by walls, if not by arms. Intelligence had been brought to Rome that not even these relics of the citizens and allies survived, but that the consuls with their two armies had been utterly cut to pieces, and all their forces annihilated. Never, when the city was in safety was there so great a panic and confusion within the walls of Rome: I shall therefore shrink from the burden of the task, and not attempt to relate what in describing in detail, I shall make less than the reality. After the loss of the consul and the army at Trasimenus the year before, it was not the announcement of one wound upon another, but a multiplied disaster, the loss of two consular armies with the two consuls: and that now there was neither any Roman camp, nor general, nor soldiery: that Apulia, and Samnium, and by this time nearly the whole of Italy was in the power of Hannibal. Assuredly no other nation would not have been overwhelmed by such an accumulation of disaster. Shall I compare with it the defeat of the Carthaginians at the Ægatian Islands, which they sustained in a naval action, and which so broke their strength that they retired from Sicily and Sardinia, and thenceforth submitted to become tributaries both in kind and in money? Or shall I liken it to the unfortunate engagement in Africa, under which this very Hannibal afterwards succumbed? In no respect are they to be compared, except that they were endured with a less courageous spirit.

LV. P. Furius Philus and Manius Pomponius, the prætors, summoned the senate in the Curia Hostilia, to deliberate upon the defence of the city: for they doubted not but that the enemy,

now the armies were annihilated, would come to assault Rome, the only operation of the war that remained. Unable to devise any definite plan in misfortunes not only very great but unknown, and while the cries of wailing women were resounding, and as nothing was yet clearly known, while the living and the dead were alike being lamented in almost every house: in such a state of things Q. Fabius Maximus gave it as his opinion, that light-horsemen should be sent out along the Appian and Latin Ways, who, by questioning persons whom they met that had been in the battle and were dispersed in all directions, might perhaps bring back word what was the fate of the consuls and their armies; and, if the immortal gods in pity to the empire had left a remnant of the Roman name, where those forces were; whither Hannibal had gone after the battle, what he was meditating, what he was doing, or about to do. These things should be searched out and ascertained by active youths. That the Fathers in person should make it their business, since there was a deficiency of magistrates, to do away with the confusion and panic in the city, to keep the matrons from appearing in public, and to compel each to abide within her own threshold: to put a stop to the lamentations of families: to obtain silence in the city: to see that the bearers of every kind of intelligence were brought before the prætors; that each person await at home the bearer of tidings respecting his own fortune: moreover to place guards at the gates to prevent anyone from leaving the city: and to oblige men to place their sole hopes of safety in the preservation of the city and its fortifications. That when the confusion had subsided the Fathers should be formally reassembled in the senate-house, and deliberate on the defence of the city.

LVI. When all had signified their approbation of this opinion, the crowd was removed from the forum by the magistrates, and the Fathers proceeded in different directions to allay the tumult. Then at last a despatch was brought from the consul Terentius, announcing that the consul Æmilius and his army were cut to pieces, that he himself was at Canusium, collecting the relics, as it were after a shipwreck, of this great disaster, that he had nearly ten thousand troops, irregular, unorganized. That the Carthaginian was remaining inactive at Cannæ, bargaining about the price of the captives and the rest of the booty, neither in the spirit of a conqueror, nor after the manner of a great general. After this the losses of private

families were likewise spread abroad in their several houses: and so completely was the entire city filled with grief, that the sacred anniversary of Ceres was omitted, because it is not allowable for persons in mourning to celebrate it, and at that crisis there was no matron unacquainted with grief. Accordingly, lest the same cause should occasion the neglect of other public and private sacred rites likewise, the time of mourning was limited by a decree of the senate to thirty days. But when, after the confusion in the city had subsided, the Fathers had been summoned again in the senate-house, an additional despatch was brought from Sicily from T. Otacilius the pro-prætor, stating that a Carthaginian fleet was ravaging the kingdom of Hiero, and that being desirous of affording him the assistance he begged, he had received intelligence that another fleet was at anchor near the Ægæan Islands, equipped and ready for action: in order that, when the Carthaginians had perceived that he was gone away to protect the coast of Syracuse, they might immediately attack Lilybæum and the other parts of the Roman province: he therefore required a fleet if they wished him to protect the king their ally, and Sicily.

LVII. After the reading of the despatches from the consul and the pro-prætor, it was resolved that M. Claudius, who was in command of the fleet stationed at Ostia, should be sent to Canusium to the army, and that a letter should be written to the consul to come to Rome at the earliest moment, consistently with the interests of the republic, when he had handed over his army to the prætor. In addition to so great disasters they were terrified also by other prodigies, and by the fact that two Vestal virgins, Opimia and Floronia, were found guilty in that year of unchastity: one of them had been buried alive, as is the custom, near the Colline gate, the other had killed herself with her own hands. L. Cantilius, secretary of one of the pontiffs, (whom they now call the lesser pontiffs,) who had committed adultery with Floronia, had been so severely beaten with rods by the pontifex maximus in the comitium that he died under the stripes. This impiety being converted into a prodigy, as is usual amid so many disasters, the decemviri were ordered to consult the sacred books. Q. Fabius Pictor was also sent to Delphi to the Oracle, to enquire with what prayers and offerings they could appease the gods, and what termination there would be to so great disasters. Meanwhile

several extraordinary sacrifices were made according to the directions of the books of fate: among them a Gaulish man and woman, and a Greek man and woman, were let down alive in the cattle market, into a place fenced round with stone, which had been already polluted with human victims,—a rite by no means Roman. When the gods, as they supposed, had been sufficiently appeased, M. Claudius Marcellus sent from Ostia fifteen hundred soldiers, whom he had levied for his fleet, to Rome, as a garrison for the city: he himself, sending in advance a legion of marines, (it was the third legion,) to Teanum, a city of the Sidicini, handed over his fleet to his colleague, P. Furius Philus, and after a few days reached Canusium by long marches. M. Junius, nominated dictator on the authority of the Fathers, and Tiberius Sempronius master of the horse, proclaimed a levy, and enrolled the younger men from the age of seventeen years, and some who wore the toga prætexta; out of which four legions and a thousand cavalry were formed. They sent also to the allies and the Latin name, to receive the soldiers according to stipulation: they ordered them to get ready their arms, weapons, and other requisites: and they took down from the temples and porticoes the time-honoured spoils of war. The want of free persons likewise, and the urgency of the case, caused another and a new form of enrolment to be adopted: eight thousand stout youths were selected from the slaves and bought at the public charge; and, after first enquiring of each whether he wished to serve, they armed them. They preferred this description of troops, though they had the power of ransoming the prisoners at a less expense.

LVIII. For Hannibal after so successful a battle at Cannæ, occupied with the cares of a conqueror, rather than of one prosecuting a war, after bringing out and separating the prisoners, had addressed the allies in terms of kindness, as before at the Trebia and lake Trasimenus, and had dismissed them with a ransom: the Romans too he summoned, and (as he had never done on any previous occasion) addressed them in very gentle terms. He told them that he was not carrying on a war of extermination with the Romans, but was fighting for honour and power. His ancestors had yielded to Roman valour, and he was now endeavouring that the Romans should yield in turn at once to his good fortune and courage. Accordingly he allowed the prisoners power to ransom themselves:

that the price per head would be, for a horseman five hundred denarii, for a foot soldier three hundred, and for a slave one hundred. Although some addition was thus made for the cavalry to the sum they had agreed upon when they surrendered, yet they joyfully accepted any terms soever for making a compact. They determined that ten persons should be selected by their own votes, to go to Rome to the Senate, nor was any other guarantee of their fidelity taken, than that they should take an oath to return. Carthalo, a noble Carthaginian, was sent with them, to propose terms if their minds should chance to be inclined for peace. When they had gone out of the camp, one of them, a man with very little of the Roman character, returned to the camp as though he had forgotten something, for the purpose of freeing himself from his oath, and overtook his companions before nightfall. When it was announced that they had arrived at Rome, a licitor was sent to meet Carthalo, to tell him in the words of the dictator to quit the Roman territory before night.

LIX. An audience of the senate was granted by the dictator to the delegates of the prisoners. The chief of them, M. Junius, thus spoke: "There is not one of us, conscript Fathers, who is unaware that no state has ever held prisoners in greater contempt than our own. But, unless our cause is dearer to us than it should be, no other men have ever fallen into the power of their enemies, who less deserve to be disregarded by you than we do: for we did not give up our arms in the field overcome by fear; but when we had prolonged the fight almost till it was quite dark, standing on the heaps of slaughtered men, we then betook ourselves to the camp. During the remainder of the day and the following night, exhausted with toil and wounds, we protected our ramparts. The next day, beset by a victorious army, as we were being deprived of water, and there was now no hope of bursting through the dense masses of the enemy, and as we considered it no impiety that some Roman soldiers should survive the battle of Cannæ, after fifty thousand men of our army had been butchered: at length we agreed upon a sum for which we might be ransomed and dismissed, and we handed over to the enemy our arms, which were now of no further avail. Besides we had heard that our ancestors had ransomed themselves from the Gauls with gold: and that your fathers, although most rigid as regards the terms of peace, had yet sent ambassadors to

Tarentum for the purpose of ransoming the prisoners. But not only the battle near the Allia with the Gauls, but also that at Heraclea with Pyrrhus were disgraceful, not so much on account of the actual loss, as of the panic and flight. The plains of Cannæ are covered with heaps of Roman dead : and we are but the survivors of the fight whom the enemy wanted the swords and strength to butcher. There are, too, some of us who did not retreat even in the field, but being left to guard the camp, fell into the power of the enemy when the camp was surrendered. For my own part, I envy not the good fortune or condition of any citizen or fellow-soldier, nor would I raise myself by disparaging another : but not even those men, who for the most part without arms fled from the field, and stopped not until they arrived at Venusia or Canusium, would justly set themselves before us, (unless some reward is due to the swiftness of their feet and running) and boast that the republic has a better protection in them than in us. But you will find them both good and brave soldiers : and us even more zealous for our native land, because we shall have been ransomed and restored to that land by your kindness. You are levying from every age and condition : I hear that eight thousand slaves are being armed : we are no fewer in number, nor will we be ransomed at a greater expense than the cost of these slaves : for, were I to compare ourselves with them, I should inflict an injury on the name of Roman. I should think also, conscript Fathers, that in deliberating on such a measure, you ought to consider (if after all you are disposed to be over severe, which you cannot do from any deserts of ours) to what enemy you are about to abandon us. Is it to Pyrrhus, for instance, who treated us when prisoners like guests, or to a barbarian and a Carthaginian, of whom it is difficult to determine whether his avarice or his cruelty is the greater ? Were you to see the chains, the wretchedness, the squalid appearance of your fellow-citizens, that spectacle would not, I am confident, less affect you, than if on the other hand you beheld your legions prostrate on the plains of Cannæ. You can gaze upon the anxious looks, the tears of our kinsmen as they stand in the vestibule of your senate-house, and await your answer. And if these are in such suspense and anxiety on behalf of us and those who are absent, what think you must be the feelings of the men themselves whose lives and liberty are at stake ? If, by Hercules, Hannibal himself, should contrary to his nature, be disposed to be

lenient towards us, yet we would not consider our lives worth possessing, since we seemed unworthy to be ransomed by you. Some years ago certain prisoners, sent home by Pyrrhus without ransom, returned to Rome: but they returned accompanied by ambassadors, the chief men of the state, sent to ransom them. Shall I return to my native land, a citizen not considered worth three hundred denarii? Every man has his own feelings, conscript Fathers. I know that my life and person are at stake. But I am more affected by the danger which threatens my reputation, lest we should go away condemned and rejected by you: for men will never suppose that you grudged the cost of our ransom."

LX. When he had finished his address, immediately the crowd in the comitium raised a mournful cry, and kept stretching their hands towards the senate-house, imploring the Fathers to restore them their children, their brothers, their kinsfolk. The women too were led by fear and family affection to mingle with this crowd of men in the forum. The feeling of the senate, after strangers had been ordered out, was then begun to be taken. A variety of opinions was expressed: some were for ransoming them at the public charge, others advised that no public expense ought to be incurred, but that they should not be prevented from ransoming themselves from their private means, and that if any of them could not pay ready money down, they should receive a loan from the Treasury, and security should be given to the people by their sureties and lands. Upon this T. Manlius Torquatus, a man of primitive, and, as most people thought, of over-harsh severity, being asked his opinion, is reported to have spoken as follows. "Had the deputies merely demanded on behalf of those in the enemy's power, that they should be ransomed, it would not have taken long to have declared my opinion, without inveighing against any one of them. For what else would have been required except to admonish you to preserve the custom handed down from your fathers, a precedent indispensable to military discipline? But as the case stands, when they have almost gloried in having surrendered themselves to their enemies, and have thought it but fair that they should be set before not merely the men taken prisoners by the enemy in the field, but even before those who arrived in safety at Venusia and Canusium, and before the consul C. Terentius himself,

I will not suffer you, conscript Fathers, to be ignorant of what took place on the spot. And I could wish that what I am about to bring before you, I were stating at Canusium before the very army, the best witness of every man's cowardice and valour: or, that at least one person, P. Sempronius, were here, whom had these fellows followed as their general, they would this day have been soldiers in a Roman camp, not prisoners in the power of their enemies. But although the enemy was fatigued with fighting and rejoicing in their victory, and the greater part of them had actually retired to their camp, and they had the night at their disposal for making a sally, and though they were seven thousand armed men, and might have forced their way through their enemies, however closely arrayed, yet they neither of themselves attempted to do this, nor were willing to follow another. Throughout nearly the whole night, P. Sempronius Tuditanus ceased not to admonish, to exhort them, while but few of the enemy were around the camp, while there was stillness and quiet, and while night was a cloak to their enterprize, to follow him as their leader: that before daybreak they could safely reach places of security, the cities of their allies. If he had spoken like P. Decius, the military tribune, in Samnium, within the memory of our grandfathers: or what Calpurnius Flamma, in the first Punic war, when we were youths, spoke to the three hundred volunteers, when he was leading them to seize a rising ground, situated in the very middle of the enemy: *Let us die, soldiers, and by our death rescue from the ambuscade the surrounded legions*:—if P. Sempronius had said this, he would have considered you not even as men much less Romans, had no one stood forward as his companion in so courageous an exploit. He points out to you a path that leads not more to glory than to safety: he restores you to your country, to your parents, to your wives and little ones. Do you want courage to save yourself? What would you do if you had to die for your country? Fifty thousand fellow citizens and allies, slain on that very day, lay around you: if so many examples of courage affect you not, nothing ever will: if so great a disaster did not make your lives less dear, none ever will. While free and in safety, show your affection for your country: nay, rather show it while it is your country, and you its citizens: *too late* you are now longing for it, disfranchised, aliens from the *rights* of citizens, and become slaves of the Carthaginians. Shall

a ransom bring you back to a position whence you fell by cowardice and neglect of your duty? You did not listen to P. Sempronius, your countryman, when he ordered you to take arms and follow him: Hannibal, a little while after you *did* listen to, when he bade you surrender your camp and your arms. But why do I charge these men with cowardice, when I might accuse them of villainy. Not only did they refuse to follow him when he gave them good advice, but they tried to oppose and hold him back, had not some men of the greatest bravery, drawing their swords, driven back the cowards: P. Sempronius, I tell you, was obliged to force his way through the columns of his fellow citizens, before those of the enemy. Is it for citizens like these that our country feels regret, whom if the rest resembled, she would not have this day a single citizen of all those who fought at Cannæ? Out of seven thousand armed men, six hundred came forward and dared to force their way, and to return to their country, free and with their arms in their hands; nor did forty thousand enemies withstand them. How safe, think you, would a passage have been for a column of nearly two legions? You would have had this day, conscript Fathers, at Canusium, twenty thousand armed men, brave and faithful. But now how can these be good and faithful citizens, for brave citizens they do not even themselves say they are, unless one may suppose they were such when they tried to oppose the efforts of those who wished to force their way through their enemies? Or unless one imagines that they do not envy the safety and glory of those men which they gained by their valour, when they must know that their own fear and cowardice was the cause of their ignominious servitude? Skulking in their tents they preferred to wait for daylight and the enemy together, although they had an opportunity of forcing their way during the silence of the night. But perhaps they will tell me that though they had not courage to sally forth from the camp, yet they had the courage to defend their camp like brave men: after being beset for several days and nights, they protected the rampart with their arms, themselves with their rampart: at length after daring and suffering to the last extremity, when every support of life was being exhausted, their strength worn out by hunger, and they were now unable to hold their arms, they were conquered rather by the necessities of human nature,

than by force of arms. At sunrise the enemy approached the rampart: before two hours were over, without hazarding any contest, they delivered up their arms and themselves. Here you have the military service of these very men during two days: when they ought to have stood firm in their line and fought on, then they fled back to their camp: when they ought to have fought before their rampart, they surrendered their camp,—useless alike in the field, and in the camp. Is it you that I shall ransom? When you ought to have forced your way out of the camp, you lingered and remained where you were; when you ought to have remained and protected your camp with your arms, you surrendered to the enemy your camp, your arms, and yourselves. For myself, conscript Fathers, I am of opinion that these fellows ought no more to be ransomed, than those men should be surrendered to Hannibal, who forced their way out of their camp through the midst of their enemies, and restored themselves to their country, by the most distinguished courage."

LXI. After Manlius had spoken, notwithstanding that the prisoners were related by ties of kin to many of the Fathers as well as the people, besides the practice of the state which from the earliest ages showed very little indulgence to prisoners of war, the sum of money also influenced men's minds: because they wished neither to drain the Treasury, after a large sum had been already expended in the purchase and arming of the slaves for the service, nor to enrich Hannibal, who, report said, was particularly in need of this very thing. When the sad reply was given that the prisoners were not ransomed, and a new cause of grief was thus added to the former, on account of the loss of so many citizens, the people accompanied the delegates with many tears and lamentations to the gate of the city. One of the deputies returned home, because he had freed himself from his oath, by the deception of returning to the camp. When this became known, and the matter was brought before the senate, all voted that he should be apprehended, and conducted to Hannibal, by guards furnished at the public charge. There is another account likewise concerning the prisoners, that the first who came, were ten in number, and that when the senate hesitated whether they should be admitted into the city or not, they were admitted on the understanding that they should have no audience of the senate.

That when these staid longer than the expectations of all, three more deputies came, L. Scribonius, C. Calpurnius, and L. Manlius. That hereupon at length a tribune of the people, a relation of Scribonius, brought forward a proposition to ransom the prisoners but that the bill was thrown out by the senate. That the three last delegates returned to Hannibal, but the ten former remained, because they had freed themselves from their oath by having gone back to Hannibal after proceeding on their journey, under the pretence of learning afresh the names of the prisoners. That a violent debate arose in the senate on the question of surrendering them, and those who voted for their surrender were beaten by only a few votes : but that they were all so marked and branded with ignominy by the next censors, that some of them straightway put themselves to death, and the rest, all their lives afterwards, not only shunned the forum, but almost the very light of day and the public gaze. You can wonder more easily that there are such differences among authors than determine what is the truth. But how much greater this disaster was than any previous one, even this circumstance is a proof, that such of the allies as had stood firm till that day, now began to waver, assuredly for no other reason than that they had despaired of the empire. Now these are the tribes who revolted to the Carthaginians : the Atellani, Calatini, Hirpini, some of the Apulians, the Samnites except the Pentrians, all the Bruttii, and the Lucani. Besides these the Surrentini, and nearly all the coast held by the Greeks, the people of Tarentum, Metapontum, Croton, and the Locri, and all the Cisalpine Gauls. Yet not even these disasters and the revolt of their allies so affected the Romans that any mention of peace was made among them, either before the arrival of the consul at Rome, or after he returned thither, and recalled afresh the memory of the loss they had sustained. At which very critical time so undaunted was the spirit of the state that as the consul returned from so great a disaster, of which he himself was the chief cause, crowds of all ranks went to meet him, and thanks were bestowed upon him because he had not despaired of the republic. Had he been a Carthaginian commander no species of punishment would have been spared.



